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Clarendon Press Series

SELECTIONS
ADAPTED FROM XENOPHON

WITH ENGLISH NOTES AND MAPS

BY

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PART I

SCENES FROM GREEK HISTORY

FROM ARGINUSAE TO MANTINEA

THIRD EDITION

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

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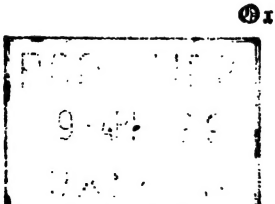

PREFACE.

THERE is a real lack of Greek books for beginners, such, that is, as will satisfy the necessary criteria—

i. that the book should be *easy* enough;

ii. that it should mark clearly the main outlines of the *form* of the language;

iii. that the *matter* should be interesting, and form a connected story within a moderate compass.

There are admirable exercise-books which pass the first and second tests, but fail to satisfy the third; and if the main aim of education be to develope a pupil's intelligence, the third test is vital. Lucian's style is eminently lively; but his Greek is not what we want. Arrian is not the best model for the construction of sentences. Homer is unsurpassed for the interest it awakes, but the dialect unfits it for our purpose. When a boy has painfully learnt his Greek grammar, the book put into his hands should be one in which that grammar can be rigidly applied. The only text-book which supplies our wants at present is the Anabasis of Xenophon, and

that unaltered is too long. Travels are interesting, but if read at the rate of ten lines at a time the interest is apt to evaporate, and while the mere geographical framework gets a proportion of attention which was never intended by the writer, the unity of the story is lost to one who reads but one seventh of the whole, and that by fragments.

Here it has been attempted to forge Xenophon's Hellenics into another weapon for the teacher's armoury. An excerpt of the most interesting passages has been made, and difficult sentences have been so far simplified that, in the judgment of boys, the book is even easier than the Anabasis.

When this result was attained, I should have preferred to leave the book without notes, as I have no wish that my book should do a pupil's thinking for him: however, I have found by experience that notes are almost indispensable for a beginner, and so, while I have saved a little labour with the dictionary, I have given as few explanations as possible, and have made it my main purpose to lay stress on the laws of certain constructions. If the notes only teach boys to observe that there is a difference between imperfects and aorists, that different prepositions have different meanings, and that particles do affect the sentences in which they occur, and cannot be all alike translated by 'indeed,' my labour will have been amply repaid. The same notes have been repeated again and again, so that each Section is nearly always complete in itself.

The number of boys who either can or will look out references is so small that it seemed better to repeat than to refer. It is hoped that even the experienced teacher may economise his time by being able to make his pupils get up the main grammatical points by themselves, while the less experienced may be glad to have rules already framed for him, instead of having to adapt the rules he has framed for himself to the capacity of very young boys.

The last point on which these Selections differ from others of the same kind is in the amount of space given to the History. This is not merely for the sake of the history itself, though it is that of a period full of interest, and too often neglected both by Schools and Universities. It is to make the connection of the parts with the whole clear. The natural boy will probably never look at the Historical Introductions; he will at any rate gain but little from them, unless they are made the text of a lecture by his teacher. The teacher's work will be repaid if he thus teaches his class to read with their brains as well as with their eyes.

To prevent the length from being a bar to the interest, the ten thousand lines of the Hellenics have been reduced to two thousand; this smaller whole has again been divided into Sections adapted for some twenty lessons of from fifteen to twenty lines a time; while each of these Sections again has been distributed into some twenty or thirty paragraphs, with headings marking the progress of the story.

If Greek is to be retained in our curriculum, besides Latin, French, English, and Science, we must economise time in our methods. In the furtherance of this object it is hoped that this book will do its part.

Grote's History, Sturz's Lexicon, and the chief editions[1] of Xenophon have been continually consulted. My thanks are also due to my colleagues for the many practical suggestions they have given in the four or five years during which they have used these Extracts in their Tutor-rooms.

[1] Dindorf, Breitenbach, Büchsenschutz, and especially Sauppe, who has a most useful 'Annotatio Critica,' in which he discusses questions of text and the emendations of Cobet.

RUGBY, *Jan.* 1871.

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SELECTIONS FROM XENOPHON.

SECTION I.

THE CLOSING SCENES

OF THE

PELOPONNESIAN WAR,

OR

THE BATTLES OF CYZICUS, NOTIUM, ARGINUSAE, AND AEGOSPOTAMI.

B. C. 410—405.

SECTION I.

THE CLOSING SCENES OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

B. C. 410—405.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

The Peloponnesian War was the great conflict between Athens and Sparta for the supremacy of Greece. Athens had won great glory in the first Persian war at Marathon, 490 B.C., and in the second at Salamis, 480 B.C., and had followed up her successes by taking the lead in carrying the war into the enemy's country, and liberating the Greek cities both of the Aegean and of the Asiatic coast from the dominion of Persia. Athens thus became recognised as the Protectress of Greece against Persia. From Protectress to Empress was but a step. She had required all the islands and cities that were exposed to Persian aggression to furnish her each with their quota of ships for their defence. If the Greek traders preferred to pay her with their pockets instead of their persons, and to give silver instead of ships and sailors, thus weakening their own navies while they strengthened hers, whose fault was it but their own that they became helpless in her grasp? And as long as she kept Persia in check, why should she not spend her income as she liked? Or rather what anti-Persian policy could be more far-sighted than to strengthen and beautify Athens and thus to make a visible centre, a bond of union for a great Federation of the Western World?

We praise the wisdom of the early Kings of France for welding her provinces into one whole, and putting an end to the perpetual quarrels of duchy against duchy, in fact for making Paris, once only the chief town of a county, into the capital of a nation, the pride of Frenchmen, the stronghold of French nationality. We applaud those who create a United Germany. Shall we deny the same praise to the policy of Pericles? It may have been, however, that the vigour of Greece was really rooted in disunion, in the variety and versatility of its

race, in the independence alike of the individual city and of the individual citizen, in the strength and self-assertion bred only by self-government? It was certainly unlikely that units so various would ever coalesce. It may have been impossible that they could so coalesce at a time, when they knew not yet the full power of that principle of representation by which the warming life-blood of freedom is kept ever coursing round the body politic, passing from heart to limbs and from limbs to heart in perpetual circulation.

We cannot tell what might have happened; what did happen we know. Pericles lived only long enough to carry the Athenians through the first fiery trial of the fight, yet at the end of five, of ten, of fifteen years, they still held their own; then one rash throw and all was lost. They wanted to be heads of Hellas in Sicily, in Western as in Eastern Greece. But the genius of the unprincipled Alcibiades passed over to their foes, and with divided counsels and a superstitious general they let golden opportunities slip by them; till finally their fleet was cut off in the harbour of Syracuse, and the flower of their forces, the chief part of their citizen soldiers, was killed or enslaved in the island, 413 B.C.

The hope of the West was gone for ever, and what means now remained to save what they had won in the East? 'Quot servi, tot hostes,' as the proverb says. Their subject-allies, bound to them by fear and not by love, rose against them at once and rushed into the arms of Sparta. The hopes of Persia had been crushed for half a century by the victory of the Athenian Cimon at the Eurymedon, 466 B.C., but they revived on the news of the Athenian disaster, and the navy of Sparta was assisted by the pay of Persia. Athens herself was distracted by domestic danger: her democracy stood disgraced in her own eyes by the Sicilian disaster; a revolution ensued, and the city fell under the rule of the oligarchy of the Four Hundred; and, though the army, which was engaged in quieting the revolt of Samos, refused to acknowledge the new government, and restored the popular government by a second revolution, yet the divisions at home were a fatal source of weakness abroad.

Meantime Alcibiades had quarrelled with the Spartans and had gone over to Persia. He appeared to have great weight with Tissaphernes, the satrap of Lower Asia, and by pretending that it was his influence which prevented Tissaphernes from helping Sparta heartily, he ingratiated himself with the Athenians and was allowed to return. Tissaphernes, though professedly an ally of Sparta, continued to pursue the wily policy

of giving no effectual help either to her or to Athens, in the hope that they might mutually dispose of each other; and it was this which made the Spartans glad to transfer the seat of war from Chios, which was under Tissaphernes, to the Hellespont, which was in the satrapy of Pharnabazus, a man of straightforward character, who had adopted the definite policy of doing his best to crush Athens. The Hellespont was important to Athens not only for its own sake, as one of the remaining parts of her sadly shrunken Eastern Empire, but also because it was the key to the Black Sea, the northern coast of which, then as now, was famed for its growth of corn, and was in fact as necessary to Athens then as Egypt in after-years became to Rome. The odds were greatly in favour of Sparta, whose troops had a ready paymaster in Pharnabazus; while the Athenian sailors had to divide their energies between fighting and buccaneering. Again, the one had a Persian land force to back her, whereas the nominal allies of the other were sure to go over to her foe the moment the Spartan force seemed strong enough to protect them. However, in the first battle, which was fought at Cynossema[1], the headland opposite Abydos, the Athenians won the day, and by this one stroke they were freed from danger at home, as the Spartan admiral was compelled to withdraw his ships from Euboea, and at the same time their spirits were cheered by a victory however incomplete. Soon afterwards they won a second victory at Abydos, owing to the timely appearance of Alcibiades with a reinforcement in the middle of the battle. At this point our history commences.

[1] *κυνὸς σῆμα*, or the Dog's Tomb.

DATES OF GREEK HISTORY.

	B.C.
First Persian War. **Marathon**	490
Second Persian War. **Salamis**	480
Athenian Ascendancy	480—430
Peloponnesian War, lasting three times nine (=27) years	431—404
Peace of Nicias ends **First Period**	421
Defeat in Sicily ends **Second Period** of nine years . .	413
Fall of Athens ends **Third Period** of nine years . . .	404

Details of Third Period—

1st year,	Alcibiades goes over to Persia	412
2nd „	Rise and Fall of Four Hundred. Cynossema .	411
3rd „	Cyzicus	410
4th „	Athens defeated at Ephesus	409
5th „	Alcibiades recovers Byzantium and the Hellespont	408
6th „	The last phase of the war. The arrival of Cyrus the younger at Sardis turns the scale in favour of Sparta. Lysander, the new Spartan admiral, catches the Athenian fleet in the absence of Alcibiades and defeats it at **Notium**. Alcibiades is banished. Ten generals appointed, Conon one. Callicratidas succeeds Lysander	407
7th „	Conon blocked up at Mytilene in Lesbos: sends news to Athens: prodigious efforts to relieve him. Fight at **Arginusae**. Callicratidas killed	406
8th „	Lysander admiral again. **Aegospotami** .	405
9th „	**Athens taken** by Lysander, and **Thirty Tyrants** established there . . .	404
	The Tyrants expelled by Thrasybulus . .	403

Cyrus leads the unemployed Greek soldiers against his brother Artaxerxes Mnemon. Cyrus killed in battle of **Cunaxa** . 401

N.B.—The important period of Greek History is contained in a little more than a century and a half. It commences with the Persian War and closes with the victories of Alexander. The date of Alexander's victory at *Issus* is easy to be remembered as being composed of 3 threes (333). The *Peloponnesian War* began 100 years before this (431). The battle of *Salamis* was 50 years before the Peloponnesian War (480.)

SECTION I.

THE CLOSING SCENES OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

B.C. 410—405.

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1. THE BATTLE OF CYZICUS.

B.C. 410.

Alcibiades as commander of Athenian fleet.

Τισσαφέρνης συλ-λαβὼν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἀφ-ικόμενον παρ' αὐτὸν μιᾷ τριήρει ξένιά τε καὶ δῶρα ἄγοντα εἶρξεν ἐν Σάρδεσι, φάσκων βασιλέα κελεύειν αὐτὸν πολεμεῖν Ἀθηναίοις. ἡμέραις δὲ τριάκοντα ὕστερον Ἀλκιβιάδης, ἵππων εὐπορήσας, νυκτὸς ἀπ-έδρα ἐκ Σαρδέων πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. οἱ δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἐπύθοντο ὅτι Μίνδαρός τε ὁ Σπαρτιάτης μετὰ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καὶ Φαρνάβαζος ὁ Πέρσης μετὰ τοῦ πεζοῦ ἤδη εἶεν ἐν Κυζικῷ, ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν Προικοννήσῳ ἔμειναν· τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Ἀλκιβιάδης παρεκελεύετο αὐτοῖς ὅτι ἀνάγκη εἴη καὶ ναυμαχεῖν καὶ πεζομαχεῖν καὶ τειχομαχεῖν· 'οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν,' ἔφη, 'χρήματα ἡμῖν, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις ἄφθονα παρὰ βασιλέως πάρεσται.' (τῇ δὲ προτεραίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ ὥρμίσαντο, συν-ήθροισε παρ' ἑαυτὸν τὰ πλοῖα πάντα τά τε μεγάλα καὶ τὰ μικρὰ, ἐπεκήρυξέ τε, τὴν ζημίαν ἔσεσθαι θάνατον παντί τινι, ὃς ἂν ἁλίσκηται εἰς τὸ πέραν δια-πλέων. τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίησεν, ὅπως μηδεὶς ἐξ-αγγείλαι τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν αὐτοῦ πολὺ ἤδη ηὐξῆσθαι.)

The Battle. Success of his Tactics.

Τότε δὲ παρα-σκευασάμενος τὰς ναῦς ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἀν-ηγάγετο ἐπὶ τὴν Κυζικὸν ὄντος πολλῷ· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐγγὺς τῆς Κυζίκου ἦν, αἰθρίας γενομένης καὶ τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκ-λάμψαντος, καθ-ορᾷ τὰς τοῦ Μινδάρου ναῦς γυμναζομένας πόρρω ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμένος καὶ ἀπ-ειλημμένας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ἑξήκοντα οὔσας. οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι ἰδόντες τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων τριήρεις οὔσας πλείους τε πολλῷ ἢ πρότερον καὶ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι, ἔφυγον πρὸς τὴν γῆν· καὶ συν-ορμίσαντες τὰς ναῦς ἐμάχοντο τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἤδη ἐπι-πλέουσι. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ταῖς εἴκοσι τῶν νεῶν περι-πλεύσας ἀπ-έβη εἰς τὴν γῆν. ὁ δὲ Μίνδαρος ἰδὼν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπο-βὰς ἐν τῇ γῇ μαχόμενος ἀπ-έθανεν· οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄντες ἔφυγον. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ᾤχοντο ἄγοντες εἰς Προικόννησον ἁπάσας τὰς ναῦς τῶν πολεμίων πλὴν τῶν Συρακοσίων· ἐκείνας δὲ αὐτοὶ κατ-έκαυσαν οἱ Συρακόσιοι.

Γράμματα δὲ παρὰ Ἱπποκράτους τοῦ Μινδάρου ἐπιστολέως πεμφθέντα εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἑάλω εἰς Ἀθήνας λέγοντα τάδε· 'Ἔρρει τὰ κᾶλα. Μίνδαρος ἀπ-εσσούα. πεινῶντι τὠνδρες. ἀπορίομες τί χρὴ ὀρῆν.'

2. THE BATTLE OF NOTIUM.

B.C. 407.

Cyrus the paymaster of Sparta.

Ὕστερον δὲ Λύσανδρος ἀν-έβη πρὸς Κῦρον σὺν πρέσβεσι Λακεδαιμονίοις. δείπνου δὲ γενομένου, ἐπεὶ ὁ Κῦρος προπιὼν αὐτῷ ἤρετο τί ποιῶν μάλιστα ἂν χαρίζοιτο αὐτῷ, εἶπεν ὅτι Εἰ πρὸς τὸν μισθὸν ἑκάστῳ ναύτῃ ὀβολὸν προς-θείης. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τέσσαρες ὀβολοὶ ἦν ὁ μισθὸς, πρότερον δὲ τριώβολον, ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα πολὺ προθυ-

μότερον εἶναι. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἀθύμως εἶχον.

Battle in absence of Alcibiades.

Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ δι-έπλευσε πρὸς τὴν Φώκαιαν, κατα-λιπὼν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν Ἀντίοχον τὸν αὐτοῦ κυβερνήτην, ἐπι-στείλας αὐτῷ μὴ ἐπι-πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς Λυσάνδρου ναῦς. ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος, εἰς-πλεύσας ἐκ Νοτίου εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῶν Ἐφεσίων τῇ τε αὐτοῦ νηὶ καὶ ἄλλῃ, παρ-έπλει παρ' αὐτὰς τὰς πρῴρας τῶν Λυσάνδρου νεῶν. ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καθ-ελκύσας ὀλίγας τῶν νεῶν ἐδίωκεν αὐτὸν, ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐβοήθουν τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ πλείοσι ναυσὶ, τότε δὴ καὶ πάσας συν-τάξας ἐπ-έπλει. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τοῦ Νοτίου καθ-ελκύσαντες τὰς λοιπὰς τριήρεις ἀν-ήχθησαν, ὡς ἕκαστος ἀν-έφξεν. ἐκ τούτου δ' ἐναυμάχησαν οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐν τάξει, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι δι-εσπαρμέναις ταῖς ναυσὶ, μέχρι οὗ ἔφυγον ἀπ-ολέσαντες πεντεκαίδεκα τριήρεις. τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι ἐξ-έφυγον, οἱ δ' ἐζωγρήθησαν. Λύσανδρος δὲ, τάς τε ναῦς ἀνα-λαβὼν καὶ τρόπαιον στήσας ἐπὶ τοῦ Νοτίου, δι-έπλευσεν εἰς Ἔφεσον, οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι εἰς Σάμον.

3. THE BATTLE OF ARGINUSAE, AND THE TRIAL OF THE COMMANDERS.

B.C. 406.

Conon blockaded.

Τῷ δ' ἐπ-ιόντι ἔτει Καλλικρατίδας κατ-ιδών ποτε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀν-αγομένους ἐδίωκεν. Κόνων δὲ κατα-φεύγει εἰς Μυτιλήνην τῆς Λέσβου. ὁ δὲ συν-εις-έπλευσεν εἰς τὸν λιμένα διώκων ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα, καὶ ὁρμισάμενος ἐπολιόρκει ἐνταῦθα, τὸν ἔκ-πλουν ἔχων. καὶ

μετα-πεμψάμενος τοὺς Μηθυμναίους κατὰ γῆν, δι-εβίβασε καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐκ Χίου· χρήματά τε παρὰ Κύρου ἦλθεν αὐτῷ.

His Stratagem to send News.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Κόνων ἐπολιορκεῖτο καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κὰτα θάλατταν, καὶ οὐκ ἐδύνατο εὐπορῆσαι σίτων οὐδαμόθεν, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει πολλοὶ ἦσαν, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκ ἐβοήθουν διὰ τὸ μὴ πυνθάνεσθαι τὴν πολιορκίαν, τότε δὴ καθ-ελκύσας τῶν νεῶν τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας δύο ἐπλήρωσε πρὸ ἡμέρας, ἐξ ἁπασῶν τῶν νεῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐρέτας ἐκ-λέξας. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἤδη μέσον ἡμέρας ἦν, καὶ οἱ ἐφ-ορμοῦντες ὀλιγώρως εἶχον, καὶ ἔνιοι ἀν-επαύοντο, ἐξ-έπλευσαν ἔξω τοῦ λιμένος, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ Ἑλλησπόντου ὥρμησεν, ἡ δὲ εἰς τὸ πέλαγος.

The Chase.

Οἱ δὲ ἐφ-ορμοῦντες ἔτυχον ἐν τῇ γῇ ἀριστο-ποιούμενοι. εὐθὺς δὲ ἐγειρόμενοί τε καὶ εἰς-βάντες ὡς τάχιστα, ἀπο-κόπτοντες τὰς ἀγκύρας ἐβοήθουν τεταγμένοι, ὡς ἕκαστοι ἤνοιγον. οὕτω δὲ τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν ναῦν τὴν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφ-ορμήσασαν ἐδίωκον, καὶ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ δύνοντι κατ-έλαβον. ἡ δ' ἑτέρα ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου φυγοῦσα ναῦς δι-έφυγε, καὶ ἀφ-ικομένη εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐξ-αγγέλλει τὴν πολιορκίαν.

Reinforcements are sent.

Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν τά τε γεγενημένα καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν ταῖς συμ-πάσαις ναυσίν. αἱ δὲ πᾶσαι ἐγένοντο πλείους ἢ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. εἰς-έβησαν δὲ οἱ ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὄντες ἅπαντες, καὶ ἐν τριάκοντα ἡμέραις ἀπ-ῆραν· ἔπειτα δὲ ἀν-ήχθησαν εἰς Σάμον διὰ τάχους.

The Spartans go to meet them.

Ὁ δὲ Καλλικρατίδας ἀκούων τὴν βοήθειαν ἤδη ἐν Σάμῳ οὖσαν, αὐτοῦ μὲν κατ-έλιπε πεντήκοντα ναῦς καὶ ἄρχοντα Ἐτεόνικον· ταῖς δὲ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀν-αχθεὶς ἐ-δειπνο-ποιεῖτο ἐπὶ τῇ Μαλέᾳ ἄκρᾳ τῆς Λέσβου ἀντίον τῆς Μυτιλήνης. τῇ δ' αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔτυχον καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δειπνο-ποιούμενοι ἐν ταῖς Ἀργινούσαις· αὗται δ' εἰσὶν ἀντίον τῆς Λέσβου. τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἰδὼν τὰ πυρὰ, καί τινων αὐτῷ ἐξ-αγγειλάντων ὅτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἶεν, ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔπλει ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀργινούσας.

The Tactics.

Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντ-αν-ήγοντο εἰς τὸ πέλαγος παρα-τεταγμένοι ἐπὶ δυοῖν. οὕτω δ' ἐτάχθησαν, ἵνα μὴ δι-έκ-πλουν διδοῖεν· χεῖρον γὰρ ἔπλεον. αἱ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀντι-τεταγμέναι ἦσαν ἅπασαι ἐπὶ μιᾶς, ὡς πρὸς δι-έκ-πλουν καὶ περί-πλουν παρ-εσκευασμέναι, διὰ τὸ βέλτιον πλεῖν. ὁ δὲ κυβερνήτης εἶπε τῷ Καλλικρατίδᾳ, ὅτι καλῶς ἔχοι ἀπο-πλεῦσαι· αἱ γὰρ τριήρεις τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολλῷ πλέονες ἦσαν. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι ἡ Σπάρτη οὐδὲν κάκιον οἰκιοῖτο αὐτοῦ ἀπο-θανόντος, φεύγειν δὲ αἰσχρὸν εἴη.

The Battle.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐναυμάχησαν χρόνον πολὺν, πρῶτον μὲν ἀθρόαι, ἔπειτα δὲ δι-εσκεδασμέναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ Καλλικρατίδας ἀπο-πεσὼν ἐμ-βαλούσης τῆς νεὼς εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἠφανίσθη, ἐντεῦθεν φυγὴ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐγένετο· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι πάλιν εἰς τὰς Ἀργινούσας κατ-έπλευσαν. ἀπ-ώλοντο δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἀθηναίων νῆες πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν, τῶν δὲ Πελοποννησίων

Λακωνικαὶ μὲν ἐννέα, πασῶν οὐσῶν δέκα, τῶν δ' ἄλλων συμμάχων πλείους ἢ ἑξήκοντα.

The Victors neglect to rescue their own drowning men.

Ἔδοξε δὲ τοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῖς ἑπτὰ μὲν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ναυσὶ Θηραμένην τε καὶ Θρασύβουλον πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς κατα-δεδυκυίας ναῦς καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπους σώζειν, ταῖς δ' ἄλλαις ἐπι-πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς μετ' Ἐτεονίκου τῇ Μυτιλήνῃ ἐφ-ορμούσας. ἄνεμος δὲ καὶ χειμὼν μέγας γενόμενος δι-εκώλυσεν αὐτοὺς βουλομένους ταῦτα ποιεῖν· τρόπαιον δὲ στήσαντες αὐτοῦ ηὐλίζοντο.

Inquiries are made.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ βουλῇ οἱ στρατηγοὶ δι-ηγοῦντο περί τε τῆς ναυμαχίας καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ χειμῶνος. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκκλησία ἐγένετο, ἐν ᾗ ἄλλοι τε καὶ Θηραμένης μάλιστα κατ-ηγόρουν τῶν στρατηγῶν, διότι οὐκ ἀν-είλοντο τοὺς ναυαγούς.

The Defence of the Generals.

Οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ ἀπ-ελογήσαντο, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πλέοιεν, Θηραμένει δὲ καὶ Θρασυβούλῳ τοῖς τριηράρχοις προς-τάξαιεν τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ναυαγῶν· καὶ 'εἴπερ γε,' ἔφασαν, 'δέοι αἰτιάσασθαί τινας περὶ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως, ἔχετε οὐδένα ἄλλον αἰτιάσασθαι ἢ τούτους, οἷς προς-ετάχθη ἡ ἀναίρεσις. καὶ, οὐχ, ὅτι γε κατ-ηγοροῦσιν ἡμῶν, ψευσόμεθα φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς αἰτίους εἶναι, ἀλλά φαμεν τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ χειμῶνος εἶναι τὸ κωλῦσαν τὴν ἀναίρεσιν.' τούτων δὲ μάρτυρας παρ-είχοντο τούς τε κυβερνήτας καὶ ἄλλους τῶν συμ-πλεόντων πολλούς. τοιαῦτα λέγοντες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔπειθον τὸν δῆμον·

Mourning at the Feast.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγένετο Ἀπατούρια, ἐν οἷς οἵ τε πατέρες καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς σύν-εισι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς. οἱ οὖν περὶ τὸν Θηραμένην παρ-εσκεύασαν ἀνθρώπους μέλανα ἱμάτια ἔχοντας πολλοὺς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἑορτῇ, ἵνα πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἥκοιεν, ὡς δὴ συγγενεῖς ὄντες τῶν ἀπ-ολωλότων.

The Impeachment.

Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπεισαν Καλλίξενον κατ-ηγορεῖν τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ. ἐντεῦθεν ἐποίουν ἐκκλησίαν, εἰς ἣν ἡ βουλὴ εἰς-ήνεγκε τὴν ἑαυτῆς γνώμην Καλλιξένου εἰπόντος ὅτι δέοι κρίνειν ἅπαντας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς μιᾷ ψήφῳ. παρ-ῆλθε δέ τις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν φάσκων σωθῆναι ἐπὶ τεύχους ἀλφίτων· τοὺς δ' ἀπ-ολλυμένους ἐπι-στέλλειν αὐτῷ, ἐὰν σωθῇ, ἀπ-αγγεῖλαι τῷ δήμῳ ὅτι οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἀν-είλοντο τοὺς ἀρίστους ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος γενομένους.

Opposition to the Impeachment. The attitude of Socrates.

Εὐρυπτόλεμος δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς προς-εκαλέσαντο τὸν Καλλίξενον φάσκοντες συγ-γεγραφέναι παράνομα. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἐβόα, δεινὸν εἶναι, εἴ τις μὴ ἐάσει τὸν δῆμον πράττειν ὃ ἂν βούληται. τῶν δὲ πρυτάνεών τινων φασκόντων οὐ προ-θήσειν τὴν διαψήφισιν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους, αὖθις Καλλίξενος ἀνα-βὰς εἶπε δεῖν καὶ τούτους τῇ αὐτῇ ψήφῳ κρίνεσθαι ἥπερ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐπ-εθορύβησε πάλιν ὁ ὄχλος, καὶ οἱ πρυτάνεις φοβηθέντες ὡμολόγουν πάντες προ-θήσειν πλὴν Σωκράτους τοῦ Σωφρονίσκου· οὗτος δ' ἔφη οὐδὲν παρὰ νόμον ποιήσειν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνα-βὰς Εὐρυπτόλεμος ἔλεξεν ὑπὲρ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ὅτι πολὺ δικαιότερον εἴη στεφάνοις γεραίρειν

τοὺς νικῶντας ἢ θανάτῳ ζημιοῦν πονηροῖς ἀνθρώποις πειθομένους. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἔγραψε γνώμην τοὺς ἄνδρας δεῖν κρίνεσθαι δίχα ἕκαστον κατὰ τὸ Καννωνοῦ ψήφισμα. διαχειροτονίας δὲ γενομένης ἔκριναν τὴν τῆς βουλῆς. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κατ-εψηφίσαντο τῶν ναυμαχησάντων στρατηγῶν ὀκτὼ ὄντων· ἀπ-έθανον δὲ οἱ παρ-όντες ἓξ.

The Sequel. An Expiation.

Καὶ οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον μετ-έμελε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο, προβολὰς εἶναι τῶν τὸν δῆμον τότε ἐξαπατησάντων, εἶναι δὲ καὶ Καλλίξενον τούτων. προὐβλήθησαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τέτταρες, καὶ ἐδέθησαν. ὕστερον δὲ στάσεώς τινος γενομένης, ἀπ-έδρασαν οὗτοι, πρὶν κριθῆναι· Καλλίξενος δὲ κατ-ελθὼν, μισούμενος ὑπὸ πάντων, λιμῷ ἀπ-έθανεν.

4. THE BATTLE OF AEGOSPOTAMI, AND ITS RESULTS.

Lysander takes Lampsacus.

Τῷ δ' ἐπ-ιόντι ἔτει Λύσανδρος ἐξ Ἀβύδου παρ-έπλει εἰς Λάμψακον σύμμαχον οὖσαν Ἀθηναίων· καὶ οἱ Ἀβυδηνοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι παρ-ῆσαν πεζῇ· καὶ προς-βαλόντες τῇ πόλει αἱροῦσιν αὐτὴν κατὰ κράτος, καὶ δι-ήρπασαν οἱ στρατιῶται οὖσαν πλουσίαν καὶ πλήρη οἴνου καὶ σίτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ πόδας πλέοντες ὡρμίσαντο ἐν Ἐλαιοῦντι τῆς Χερρονήσου ναυσὶν ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀριστο-ποιουμένοις αὐτοῖς ἀγγέλλεται τὰ περὶ Λάμψακον, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀν-ήχθη-

σαν εἰς Σηστόν. ἐκεῖθεν δ' εὐθὺς ἐπι-σιτισάμενοι ἔπλευσαν εἰς Αἰγὸς ποταμοὺς ἀντίον τῆς Λαμψάκου· δι-έχει δ' ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ταύτῃ σταδίους πεντε-καί-δεκα. ἐν-ταῦθα δὲ ἐ-δειπνο-ποιοῦντο.

Tactics of Lysander.

Λύσανδρος δὲ τῇ ἐπ-ιούσῃ νυκτὶ, ἐπεὶ ὄρθρος ἦν, ἐσήμηνεν ἀριστο-ποιησαμένους εἰς-βαίνειν εἰς τὰς ναῦς, πάντα δὲ παρα-σκευασάμενος ὡς εἰς ναυμαχίαν, προ-εῖπεν ὡς μηδεὶς κινήσοιτο ἐκ τῆς τάξεως μηδὲ ἀν-άξοιτο. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀν-ίσχοντι παρ-ετάξαντο ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι ἐν μετώπῳ ὡς εἰς ναυμαχίαν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἀντ-ανήγαγε Λύσανδρος, καὶ ὀψὲ ἦν τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀπ-έπλευσαν πάλιν εἰς τοὺς Αἰγὸς ποταμούς. Λύσανδρος δὲ τὰς ταχίστας τῶν νεῶν ἐκέλευσεν ἕπεσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐκ-βῶσι, κατ-ιδόντας ὅ τι ποιοῦσιν, ἀπο-πλεῖν καὶ αὐτῷ ἐξ-αγγεῖλαι. καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐξ-εβίβασεν τοὺς ναύτας ἐκ τῶν νεῶν πρὶν αὗται ἦκον. ταῦτα δ' ἐποίει τέτταρας ἡμέρας· καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπ-αν-ήγοντο.

Advice of Alcibiades rejected.

Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ κατ-ιδὼν ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν τοὺς μὲν Ἀθηναίους ἐν αἰγιαλῷ ὁρμοῦντας καὶ πρὸς οὐδεμιᾷ πόλει, μετιόντας δὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ Σηστοῦ πεντε-καί-δεκα σταδίους ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἐν λιμένι καὶ πρὸς πόλει ἔχοντας πάντα, ἔφη αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐν καλῷ χωρίῳ ὁρμεῖν, ἀλλὰ παρ-ήνει μεθ-ορμίσαι εἰς Σηστὸν πρός τε λιμένα καὶ πρὸς πόλιν· 'οὗ ὄντες ναυμαχήσετε,' ἔφη, 'ὅταν βούλησθε.' οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ ἐκέλευσαν αὐτὸν ἀπ-ιέναι· αὐτοὶ γὰρ νῦν στρατηγεῖν, οὐκ ἐκεῖνον. καὶ ὁ μὲν ᾤχετο. Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐσκεδασθήσαν κατὰ τὴν Χερρόνησον πολὺ μᾶλλον

καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, τά τε σιτία πόρρωθεν ὠνούμενοι καὶ κατα-φρονοῦντες δὴ τοῦ Λυσάνδρου, ὅτι οὐκ ἀντ-αν-ἦγεν.

The Battle.

Λύσανδρος δ', ἐπεὶ ἦν ἡμέρα πέμπτη ἐπι-πλέουσι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, εἶπε τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἑπομένοις, ἐπὴν κατ-ίδωσιν αὐτοὺς ἐκ-βεβηκότας καὶ ἐσκεδασμένους, ἀπο-πλέουσι τοὔμπαλιν παρ' αὐτὸν ἄραι ἀσπίδα κατὰ μέσον τὸν πλοῦν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν ὡς ἐκέλευσεν. Λύσανδρος δ' εὐθὺς ἐσήμηνε τὴν ταχίστην πλεῖν· Κόνων δὲ ἰδὼν τὸν ἐπί-πλουν, ἐσήμηνεν βοηθεῖν κατὰ κράτος. δι-εσκεδασμένων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, αἱ μὲν τῶν νεῶν δίκροτοι ἦσαν, αἱ δὲ μονόκροτοι, αἱ δὲ παντελῶς κεναί· ἡ δὲ Κόνωνος καὶ ἄλλαι ἑπτὰ περὶ αὐτὸν πλήρεις ἀν-ήχθησαν ἀθρόαι καὶ ἡ Πάραλος, τὰς δ' ἄλλας πάσας Λύσανδρος ἔλαβε πρὸς τῇ γῇ. τοὺς δὲ πλείστους ἄνδρας ἐν τῇ γῇ συν-έλαβεν· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔφυγον εἰς τειχύδρια. Κόνων δὲ ταῖς ἐννέα ναυσὶ φεύγων, ἔπεὶ ἔγνω τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰ πράγματα δι-εφθαρμένα, ἀπ-έπλευσε παρ' Εὐαγόραν εἰς Κύπρον, ἡ δὲ Πάραλος εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἀπ-αγγελοῦσα τὰ γεγονότα.

The News.

Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις, τῆς Παράλου ἀφ-ικομένης νυκτὸς, ἐλέγετο ἡ ξυμφορὰ, καὶ ἡ οἰμωγὴ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς διὰ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν εἰς ἄστυ δι-ῆκεν, ὁ ἕτερος τῷ ἑτέρῳ παρ-αγγέλλων· ὥστ' ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδεὶς ἐκοιμήθη, οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἀπ-ολωλότας πενθοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔτι αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοὺς, νομίζοντες πείσεσθαι οἷα ἐποίησαν Μηλίους τε καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν ᾗ ἔδοξε τούς τε λιμένας

ἀπο-χῶσαι πλὴν ἑνὸς, καὶ τὰ τείχη εὐτρεπίζειν, καὶ φυλακὰς ἐφ-ιστάναι, καὶ τἄλλα πάντα ὡς εἰς πολιορκίαν παρασκευάζειν τὴν πόλιν. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν περὶ ταῦτα ἦσαν. εὐθὺς δὲ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλὰς ἀφ-ειστήκει Ἀθηναίων μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν πλὴν Σαμίων· οὗτοι δὲ σφαγὰς τῶν γνωρίμων ποιήσαντες κατ-είχον τὴν πόλιν.

Siege of Athens.

Λύσανδρος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπεμψε πρὸς Ἀγίν τε εἰς Δεκέλειαν καὶ εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ὅτι προς-πλεῖ σὺν διακοσίαις ναυσί. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐξ-ήεσαν παυδημεὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Πελοποννήσιοι πλὴν Ἀργείων, παρ-αγγείλαντος τοῦ ἑτέρου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως Παυσανίου. ἐπεὶ δ' ἅπαντες ἠθροίσθησαν, ἀνα-λαβὼν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ἐστρατοπέδευσεν ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημείᾳ τῷ καλουμένῳ γυμνασίῳ. Λύσανδρος δὲ ὡρμίσατο πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα εἶργε τοῦ εἴς-πλου. Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, πολιορκούμενοι κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, ἠπόρουν τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, οὔτε νεῶν οὔτε συμμάχων αὐτοῖς ὄντων οὔτε σίτου· ἐνόμιζον δ' οὐδεμίαν εἶναι σωτηρίαν τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν τὰ δεινότατα. διὰ ταῦτα ἐκαρτέρουν, καὶ ἀπο-θνησκόντων ἐν τῇ πόλει λιμῷ πολλῶν οὐ δι-ελέγοντο περὶ δι-αλλαγῆς.

Terms refused.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ παντελῶς ἤδη ὁ σῖτος ἐπ-ελελοίπει, ἔπεμψαν πρέσβεις βουλόμενοι σύμμαχοι εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔχοντες τὰ τείχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις συνθήκας ποιεῖσθαι. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον ἀπ-ιέναι, καὶ, εἴ τι δέονται εἰρήνης, ἥκειν κάλλιον βουλευσαμένους. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ πρέσβεις ἦκον οἴκαδε καὶ ἀπ-ήγγειλαν ταῦτα εἰς τὴν πόλιν,

ἀθυμία ἐν-έπεσε πᾶσιν· ᾤοντο γὰρ ἀνδραποδισθήσεσθαι, καὶ ἕως ἂν πέμπωσιν ἑτέρους πρέσβεις, πολλοὺς τῷ λιμῷ ἀπ-ολεῖσθαι. περὶ δὲ τῆς καθαιρέσεως τῶν τειχῶν οὐδεὶς ἐβούλετο συμ-βουλεύειν· ἐγένετο γὰρ ψήφισμα μὴ ἐξ-εῖναι περὶ τούτων συμ-βουλεύειν.

Subtlety of Theramenes.

Τοιούτων δὲ ὄντων Θηραμένης ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ εἶπεν ὅτι, εἰ βούλονται αὐτὸν πέμψαι παρὰ Λύσανδρον, μαθήσεται, διὰ τί Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντ-έχουσι περὶ τῶν τειχῶν, πότερον ἐξ-ανδραποδίσασθαι τὴν πόλιν βουλόμενοι ἢ πίστεως ἕνεκα. πεμφθεὶς δὲ δι-έτριβε τρεῖς μῆνας καὶ πλεῖον παρὰ Λυσάνδρῳ, ἐπι-τηρῶν, ὁπότε διὰ τὸ τὸν σῖτον ἐπι-λελοιπέναι Ἀθηναίοι ἔμελλον ὁμολογήσειν ἅπαντα ὅ τι τις λέγοι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦκε τετάρτῳ μηνί, ἀπ-ήγγειλεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι Λύσανδρος τέως μὲν κατ-έχοι αὐτὸν, εἶτα κελεύοι εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἰέναι· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος τούτων, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐφόρους.

Capitulation required.

Μετὰ ταῦτα ἦρέθη πρεσβευτὴς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα αὐτοκράτωρ δέκατος αὐτός. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐν Σελλασίᾳ, ἐρωτώμενοι δὲ, 'ἐπὶ τίνι λόγῳ ἥκοιεν,' εἶπον ὅτι 'αὐτοκράτορες περὶ εἰρήνης,' μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ ἔφοροι ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς ἥκειν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦκον, ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν οἱ ἔφοροι, καὶ ἐποιοῦντο εἰρήνην ἐπὶ τῷ 'τά τε μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθ-ελεῖν, καὶ τὰς ναῦς πλὴν δώδεκα παρα-δοῦναι, καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας καθ-εῖναι, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν καὶ φίλον νομίζοντας Λακεδαιμονίοις ἕπεσθαι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, ὅποι ἂν ἡγῶνται.'

Submission of Athens.

Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρέσβεις ἐπ-αν-εφέροντο ταῦτα εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. εἰς-ιόντας δ' αὐτοὺς ὄχλος περι-εχεῖτο πολὺς, φοβούμενοι μὴ ἄπρακτοι ἥκοιεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἐν-εχώρει μέλλειν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπ-ολλυμένων τῷ λιμῷ. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπ-ήγγελλον οἱ πρέσβεις, ἐφ' οἷς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιοῖντο τὴν εἰρήνην· προ-ηγόρει δὲ αὐτῶν Θηραμένης, λέγων ὅτι χρὴ πείθεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὰ τείχη περι-αιρεῖν. ἀντ-ειπόντων δέ τινων αὐτῷ, πολὺ δὲ πλειόνων συν-επ-αινεσάντων, ἔδοξε δέχεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Λύσανδρός τε κατ-έπλει εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καὶ οἱ φυγάδες κατ-ῆεσαν, καὶ Πελοποννήσιοι κατ-έσκαπτον τὰ τείχη ὑπ' αὐλητρίδων πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ, νομίζοντες ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ἄρχειν τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῇ Ἑλλάδι.

SECTION II.

THE ATHENIAN REVOLUTION.

B.C. 404—403.

SECTION II.

THE ATHENIAN REVOLUTION.

B. C. 404—403[1].

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

THE great war of Sparta against Athens, which is commonly called the Peloponnesian War, lasted thrice nine years. In the first period Athens was successful; but in the second she made the fatal mistake of staking everything on the results of a distant expedition; it was like Napoleon's invasion of Russia, and the failure of the attempt on Sicily was for the time as disastrous as the burning of Moscow. The struggle was prolonged for nine years more. Athens had lost an army and a fleet, but she rallied with marvellous elasticity. The Spartans were baffled again and again in their attempt to wrest from her the Empire of the Aegean. The power of Persia was thrown into the scale against her, but still she fought on. At last, when she had despatched fleet after fleet till her force seemed superior on the sea, there came a tragic reverse of fortune. She had staked the whole of her navy: it was betrayed by the unaccountable carelessness of her generals: the 'wooden walls' of Athens were thus broken down, and the victorious Lysander followed up his success at Aegospotami by blockading the Piraeus, while another force invested the city on the land side.

The great war thus concluded was not merely a war of one state against another; it was a war of principles. Sparta fought as the representative of oligarchy, Athens as the champion of democracy. Such a war necessarily evoked feelings of intense bitterness; the national hostility against a foreign foe was aggravated by all the antagonistic prejudices of party politics. It was in this way like the Revolutionary War in Europe. France then appeared as a missionary

[1] For other dates, see p. 6.

democracy bent on converting the world to her principles by force if not by persuasion, and was in consequence opposed by the monarchical states. As when France was defeated the Allies established a monarchy in Paris, so on the capture of Athens an oligarchy was set up by Sparta on the ruins of the old democracy.

The general plan adopted by Sparta under such circumstances was to send out governors of their own and to elect under these a native Council of Ten. The Ten were in each case the richest and most vehement partisans of the oligarchical side. The government established at Athens was the same in reality, though in form it was speciously modified to avoid shocking Athenian prejudices too violently. Thirty of the bitterest opponents of the democracy were appointed 'Commissioners for amending the laws,' in other words, for subverting the constitution. They found themselves invested with absolute power, and, like the Decemvirs at Rome, had no wish to relinquish it. With this view they appealed to Sparta for a governor and mercenaries, and thus the favourite Spartan scheme for governing dependencies was fully developed.

A similar government was established twenty years later at Thebes[1], and was overthrown by the conspiracy of Pelopidas and the other exiles who had found a friendly refuge in Attica. 'The Athenian Revolution' contains the history of a corresponding crisis at Athens; it describes the reign of terror established by the Thirty, the opposition of the moderate party under Theramenes, and the final overthrow of the oligarchical government by the return of the democratical exiles under Thrasybulus.

[1] See pp. 86–97.

SECTION II.

THE ATHENIAN REVOLUTION.

B.C. 404—403.

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1. THE OVERTHROW OF THE DEMOCRACY.

The Thirty Oligarchs rule fairly at first;

Ἐγένετο ἡ ὀλιγαρχία ὧδε. ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ ἑλέσθαι τριάκοντα ἄνδρας, οἳ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους συγ-γράψουσι. καὶ ᾑρέθησαν μετ' ἄλλων Κριτίας τε καὶ Θηραμένης. αἱρεθέντες δὲ οἱ τριάκοντα τοὺς μὲν νόμους ἀεὶ ἔμελλον συγ-γράφειν, βουλὴν δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς κατ-έστησαν ὡς ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς. ἔπειτα πρῶτον μὲν συλ-λαμβάνοντες ὑπ-ῆγον θανάτου τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, οὓς πάντες ᾔδεσαν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ζῶντας καὶ τοῖς καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς βαρεῖς ὄντας· καὶ ἥ τε βουλὴ ἡδέως αὐτῶν κατ-εψηφίζετο, οἵ τε ἄλλοι οὐδὲν ἤχθοντο·

But when backed by a foreign garrison they soon earn the name of Tyrants.

Ἔπειτα δὲ ἤρξαντο βουλεύεσθαι ὅπως ἂν ἐξ-είη αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι τῇ πόλει ὅπως βούλοιντο. καὶ πέμψαντες πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἔπεισαν Λύσανδρον δοῦναι σφίσι φρουροὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. αὐτοὶ δὲ ὑπ-ισχνοῦντο

θρέψειν αὐτούς. ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς ἔπεμψε τούς τε φρουροὺς καὶ ἁρμοστήν. οἱ δὲ, ἐπεὶ τὴν φρουρὰν ἔλαβον, τὸν μὲν ἁρμοστὴν ἐθεράπευον πάσῃ θεραπείᾳ, ὡς πάντα ἐπ-αινοίη ἃ πράττοιεν, συν-ελάμβανον δὲ οὐκέτι τοὺς πονηροὺς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσους τῶν πολιτῶν αὐτοὶ ἰδίᾳ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον.

Theramenes protests.

Τῷ μὲν οὖν πρώτῳ χρόνῳ ὁ Κριτίας τῷ Θηραμένει φίλος ἦν. ἔπειτα δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐβούλετο πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνειν, ἅτε καὶ φυγὼν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης ἀντ-έκοπτεν. ἔλεγε γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ εἰκὸς εἴη θανατοῦν ἅπαντας, ὅσοι ἐτιμῶντο μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου εἰργάζοντο δὲ μηδὲν κακὸν τοὺς καλοὺς κἀγαθούς· 'καὶ γὰρ ἐγώ τε,' ἔφη, 'καὶ σὺ πολλὰ δὴ καὶ εἴπομεν καὶ ἐπράξαμεν τοῦ ἀρέσκειν ἕνεκα τῇ πόλει.' ὁ δὲ οὕτως ἀντ-έλεγεν· 'ἀλλὰ πάνυ δήπου δεῖ τοὺς πλεονεκτεῖν βουλομένους ἐκποδὼν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς μάλιστα δυναμένους δια-κωλύειν· εὐηθὴς δὲ εἶ, εἰ οἴει χρῆναι ἐπι-μελεῖσθαι ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς ἧττον ἢ τυραννίδος, ὅτι τριάκοντά ἐσμεν καὶ οὐχ εἷς.'

The Thirty appoint Three Thousand Citizens to share the Government with them.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πολλῶν ἀπο-θνησκόντων ἀδίκως, πολλοὶ συν-ίσταντό τε καὶ ἐθαύμαζον τί ἔσοιτο ἡ πολιτεία· ἔπειτα δὲ πάλιν ἔλεγεν ὁ Θηραμένης ὅτι, εἰ μὴ αὐτοὶ κοινωνοὺς ἱκανοὺς λήψοιντο τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀδύνατον ἔσοιτο τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν δια-μένειν. ἐκ τούτου μέντοι Κριτίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα ἤδη φοβούμενοι τὸν Θηραμένην κατα-λέγουσι τρις-χιλίους τοὺς μεθ-έξοντας δὴ τῶν

πραγμάτων. ὁ δ' αὖ Θηραμένης καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔλεγεν ὅτι ὁ Κριτίας δοκοίη ἑαυτῷ γε δύο τὰ ἐναντιώτατα πράττειν, κατα-σκευαζόμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν βιαίαν μὲν, ἥττονα δὲ τῇ δυνάμει τῶν ἀρχομένων. ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν·

They disarm the rest of the Citizens.

Οἱ δ' ἐποιήσαν ἐξέτασιν τῶν μὲν τρις-χιλίων ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, τῶν δ' ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου ἄλλων ἀλλαχοῦ. ἔπειτα, ἐν ᾧ ἐκεῖνοι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἀπ-εληλύθεσαν, πέμψαντες τοὺς φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς ὁμογνώμονας αὐτοῖς, παρ-είλοντο τὰ ὅπλα πάντων πλὴν τῶν τρις-χιλίων, καὶ ἀνα-κομίσαντες ταῦτα εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν συν-έθηκαν ἐν τῷ ναῷ. τούτων δὲ γενομένων, ὡς ἐξ-ὸν ἤδη αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν ὅ τι βούλοιντο, ἀπ-έκτεινον πολλοὺς μὲν ἔχθρας ἕνεκα πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων.

Their Mode of raising Money.

Ὅπως δ' ἔχοιεν χρήματα καὶ τοῖς φρουροῖς διδόναι, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἕκαστον λαβεῖν ἕνα τῶν μετοίκων καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀπο-κτεῖναι, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτῶν ἀποσημήνασθαι. ἐκέλευον δὲ καὶ τὸν Θηραμένην λαβεῖν ὅντινα βούλοιτο. ὁ δ' ἀπ-εκρίνατο· 'Ἀλλ' οὐ δοκεῖ μοι,' ἔφη, 'καλὸν εἶναι φάσκοντας βελτίστους εἶναι ποιεῖν ἀδικώτερα τῶν συκοφαντῶν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ τούτους παρ' ὧν χρήματα λαμβάνοιεν ζῆν εἶων, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀποκτενοῦμεν ἄνδρας μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας, ἵνα χρήματα λαμβάνωμεν; πῶς οὐ ταῦτα παντὶ τρόπῳ ἀδικώτερα ἐκείνων;'

2. THE FALL OF THERAMENES WITH THE MODERATE PARTY.

Impeachment of Theramenes.

Οἱ δὲ νομίζοντες αὐτὸν ἐμποδὼν εἶναι τῷ ποιεῖν ὅ τι βούλοιντο ἐπι-βουλεύουσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον δι-έβαλλον πρὸς τοὺς βουλευτὰς ὡς λυμαινόμενον τὴν πολιτείαν. καὶ παρ-αγγείλαντες τοῖς νεανίσκοις, οἳ ἐδόκουν αὐτοῖς θρασύτατοι εἶναι, παρα-γενέσθαι ἔχοντας ἐγχειρίδια ὑπὸ μάλης, συν-έλεξαν τὴν βουλήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Θηραμένης παρ-ῆν, ὁ Κριτίας ἀνα-στὰς ἔλεξεν ὧδε·

Speech of Critias:—i. '*Theramenes "a Jack of both sides."*'

'Ἵνα εἰδῆτε, ὦ ἄνδρες βουλευταί, ὅτι οὐ καινὰ ταῦτα οὗτος ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ φύσει προδότης ἐστίν, ἀνα-μνήσω ὑμᾶς τὰ τούτῳ πεπραγμένα. οὗτος γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν τιμώμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου προπετέστατος ἐγένετο μεταστῆσαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν εἰς τοὺς τετρακοσίους, καὶ ἐπρώτευεν ἐν ἐκείνοις. ἐπεὶ δ' ᾔσθετο ἀντίπαλόν τι τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ συν-ιστάμενον, πρῶτος αὖ ἐγένετο ἡγεμὼν τῷ δήμῳ ἐπὶ τοὺς τετρακοσίους. ὅθεν δήπου καὶ κόθορνος ἐπι-καλεῖται. καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόθορνος δοκεῖ ἁρμόττειν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς ποσίν.

ii. '*He is sure to turn against his Friends.*'

'Δεῖ δὲ, ὦ Θηράμενες, ἄνδρα οὐ προ-άγειν μὲν τοὺς συν-όντας εἰς πράγματα, μετα-βάλλεσθαι δὲ εὐθὺς, ἢν τι ἀντι-κόπτῃ, ἀλλὰ δια-πονεῖσθαι, ὥσπερ οἱ ναῦται δια-πονοῦνται ἐν νηὶ, ἕως ἂν οὖρος ᾖ· πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἀφ-ίκοιντό ποτε ἔνθα δεῖ, εἰ εὐθὺς εἰς τἀναντία

πλέοιεν, ἐπειδάν τι ἀντι-κόψῃ; καὶ εἰσὶ μὲν δήπου πᾶσαι μεταβολαὶ πολιτειῶν θανατηφόροι, σὺ δὲ διὰ τὸ εὐμετάβολος εἶναι αἴτιος εἶ τοῦ πλείστους μὲν ἐξ ὀλι- 90
γαρχίας ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἀπ-ολωλέναι, πλείστους δ' ἐκ δημοκρατίας ὑπὸ τῶν βελτιόνων.

iii. *'You had better dispatch him at once.'*

'Ὑμεῖς οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐὰν σωφρονῆτε, οὐ τούτου ἀλλ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν φείσεσθε, ὡς οὗτος σωθεὶς μὲν ποιήσειε ἂν πολλοὺς τῶν ἐναντίων ὑμῖν μέγα φρονεῖν, ἀπ-ολόμενος 95
δὲ ὑπο-τέμοι ἂν τὰς ἐλπίδας πάντων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ἔξω.' Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκαθέζετο·

Theramenes' Defence:—i. *'I am a moderate man.'*

Θηραμένης δὲ ἀνα-στὰς ἔλεξεν· 'Ἐμὲ μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες, κόθορνον ἀπο-καλεῖ ὁ Κριτίας, ὡς ἀμφοτέροις πειρώ-μενον ἁρμόττειν. ὅστις δὲ μηδετέροις ἁρέσκει, τοῦτον, 100
ὦ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, τί ποτε καλέσαι χρή; σὺ γὰρ δὴ ἐν μὲν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ πάντων μισο-δημότατος ἐνομίζου, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριστοκρατίᾳ πάντων μισο-χρηστότατος γεγένη-σαι. ἐγὼ δ', ὦ Κριτία, ἐκείνοις μὲν ἀεί ποτε πολεμῶ τοῖς οἰομένοις δημοκρατίαν οὐ καλὴν ἂν εἶναι, πρὶν καὶ 105
οἱ δοῦλοι καὶ οἱ δι' ἀπορίαν βουλόμενοι δραχμῆς ἀπο-δόσθαι τὴν πόλιν μετέχοιεν τῶν τε ἀρχῶν καὶ τῆς βουλῆς· τοῖσδε δ' αὖ ἀεὶ ἐναντίος εἰμὶ, οἳ οὐκ οἴονται καλὴν ἂν ἐγ-γενέσθαι ὀλιγαρχίαν, πρὶν κατα-στήσειαν τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὸ ὑπ' ὀλίγων τυραννεῖσθαι. 110

ii. *'I am consistent. I am against excluding worthy Citizens from the Rights of Citizenship.'*

'Τοὺς μέντοι δυναμένους καὶ μετ' ἀσπίδων καὶ μεθ' ἵππων ὠφελεῖν τὴν πόλιν τούτους πολιτεύεσθαι πρόσθεν

ἄριστον ἡγούμην εἶναι, καὶ νῦν οὐ μετα-βάλλομαι. εἰ δ' ἔχεις εἰπεῖν, ὦ Κριτία, ὅπου ἐγὼ σὺν τοῖς δημοτικοῖς ἢ τυραννικοῖς ἐπ-εχείρησα ἀπο-στερεῖν πολιτείας τοὺς καλούς τε κἀγαθούς, λέγε· ἐὰν γὰρ ἐλεγχθῶ ἢ νῦν ταῦτα πράττων ἢ πρότερον πώποτε πεποιηκὼς, ὁμολογῶ τὰ πάντων ἐσχατώτατα παθὼν ἂν δικαίως ἀπο-θνήσκειν.'

Critias overawes the Senate and condemns Theramenes illegally.

'Ως δ' εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐπαύσατο, ἡ βουλὴ εὐμενῶς ἐπεθορύβησεν. ἔγνω δὲ ὁ Κριτίας ὅτι ἀνα-φεύξοιτο, εἰ ἐπι-τρέψει τῇ βουλῇ δια-ψηφίζεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ· προσελθὼν οὖν καὶ δια-λεχθείς τι τοῖς τριάκοντα ἐξ-ῆλθε, καὶ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντας ἐπι-στῆναι φανερῶς τῇ βουλῇ ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάκτοις. πάλιν δ' εἰσελθὼν εἶπεν· ''Εγὼ, ὦ βουλὴ, νομίζω προστάτου ἔργον εἶναι, ἐὰν ὁρᾷ τοὺς φίλους ἐξ-απατωμένους, μὴ ἐπι-τρέπειν. καὶ ἐγὼ οὖν τοῦτο ποιήσω. καὶ γὰρ οἵδε οἱ ἐφ-εστηκότες οὔ φασιν ἡμῖν ἐπι-τρέψειν, εἰ ἀν-ήσομεν ἄνδρα τὸν φανερῶς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν λυμαινόμενον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς καινοῖς νόμοις μηδένα τῶν ἐν τοῖς τρισχιλίοις ὄντων ἀπο-θνήσκειν ἄνευ τῆς ὑμετέρας ψήφου, ἐξ-εῖναι δὲ τοῖς τριάκοντα θανατοῦν τῶν ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου ὄντινα ἂν βούλωνται. ἐγὼ οὖν,' ἔφη, 'Θηραμένην τουτονὶ ἐξαλείφω ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου. καὶ τοῦτον,' ἔφη, 'ἡμεῖς θανατοῦμεν.'

Dec. 17. 1879.

Theramenes appeals to the Senate against this Infraction of the Rights of a Member of the Three Thousand

'Ακούσας ταῦτα ὁ Θηραμένης, ἀν-επήδησεν ἐπὶ τὴν 'Εστίαν καὶ εἶπεν· ''Εγὼ δ',' ἔφη, 'ὦ ἄνδρες, ἱκετεύω μὴ ἐπὶ Κριτίᾳ εἶναι ἐξ-αλείφειν μήτε ἐμὲ μήτε ὑμῶν

ὃν ἂν βούληται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοὶ ἡ κρίσις ἔστω κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον, ὅνπερ οὗτοι ἔγραψαν περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ· καὶ τοῦτο μέν,' ἔφη, 'μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, ὅτι οὐδέν μοι ἀρκέσει ὅδε ὁ βωμὸς, ἀλλὰ βούλομαι ἐπι-δεῖξαι καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι οὗτοι οὐ μόνον εἰσὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀδικώτατοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ θεοὺς ἀσεβέστατοι. ὑμῶν μέντοι,' ἔφη, 'ὦ ἄνδρες καλοὶ κἀγαθοί, θαυμάζω, εἰ μὴ βοηθήσετε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ ταῦτα γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι οὐδὲν τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα εὐ-εξ-αλειπτότερον ἢ τὸ ὑμῶν ἑκάστου.'

The End of Theramenes.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ὁ τῶν τριάκοντα κῆρυξ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἕνδεκα ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὸν Θηραμένην. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, ὁρῶσα τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀρυφάκτοις, καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοοῦσα ὅτι ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντες παρ-ῆσαν. οἱ δ' ἀπ-ήγαγον τὸν ἄνδρα διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς δηλοῦντα οἷα ἔπασχε μάλα μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ. ὡς δὲ εἶπεν ὁ Σάτυρος ὅτι οἰμώξοιτο, εἰ μὴ σιωπήσειεν, ἐπ-ήρετο· 'Ἐὰν δὲ σιωπῶ, οὐκ ἄρ',' ἔφη, 'οἰμώξομαι;' καὶ ἐπεί γε ἀπο-θνήσκειν ἀναγκαζόμενος ἔπιε τὸ κώνειον ἔφασαν αὐτὸν ἀπο-κοτταβίσαντα τὸ λειπόμενον εἰπεῖν, 'Κριτίᾳ τοῦτ' ἔστω τῷ καλῷ.' οὕτω τοῦ θανάτου παρ-εστηκότος οὔτε τὸ φρόνιμον οὔτε τὸ παιγνιῶδες ἀπ-έλιπεν ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς.

The Reign of Terror.

Θηραμένης μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἀπ-έθανεν. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα, ὡς ἐξ-όν ἤδη αὐτοῖς τυραννεῖν ἀδεῶς, προ-εῖπον μὲν τοῖς ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου μὴ εἰς-ιέναι εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, ἀπ-ῆγον δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκ τῶν χωρίων, ἵν' αὐτοί καὶ οἱ φίλοι τοὺς τούτων ἀγροὺς ἔχοιεν. πολλοὶ δὲ ἔφυγον εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, πολλοὶ δὲ εἰς τὰς Θήβας.

3. THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION UNDER THRASYBULUS.

The Exiles establish themselves at Phyle.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Θρασύβουλος ὁρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θηβῶν σὺν ἑβδομήκοντα τῶν φυγάδων τῶν Ἀθηναίων κατα-λαμβάνει Φυλὴν χωρίον ἰσχυρόν. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἐβοήθουν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος σύν τε τοῖς τρις-χιλίοις καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφ-ίκοντο, εὐθὺς μὲν θρασυνόμενοί τινες τῶν νέων προς-έβαλον πρὸς τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ἐποίησαν μὲν οὐδὲν, τραύματα δὲ λαβόντες ἀπ-ῆλθον. καὶ τέως μὲν καὶ μάλ' εὐδία ἦν. βουλομένων δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα ἀπο-τειχίζειν, ὅπως ἐκ-πολιορκήσειαν αὐτοὺς ἀπο-κλείσαντες τὰς ἐφόδους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, χιὼν παμπληθὴς ἐπι-γίγνεται τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ. οἱ δὲ νιφόμενοι ἀπ-ῆλθον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, ἀπο-βαλόντες πολλοὺς τῶν σκευοφόρων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ Φυλῆς.

The Success of the Exiles.

Γιγνώσκοντες δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν λεηλατήσοιεν, εἰ μή τις φυλακὴ ἔσοιτο, ἐκ-πέμπουσιν τούς τε Λακωνικοὺς πλὴν ὀλίγων φρουροὺς καὶ δύο φυλὰς τῶν ἱππέων. οὗτοι δὲ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐν χωρίῳ λασίῳ ἐφύλαττον. ὁ δὲ Θρασύβουλος, ἑπτακοσίων ἀνδρῶν ἤδη συν-ειλεγμένων εἰς τὴν Φυλὴν, λαβὼν αὐτοὺς κατα-βαίνει τῆς νυκτός· θέμενος δὲ τὰ ὅπλα τρία ἢ τέτταρα στάδια ἀπὸ τῶν φρουρῶν ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἤδη ἀν-ίσταντο ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων, καὶ οἱ ἱπποκόμοι ψήχοντες τοὺς ἵππους ψόφον ἐποίουν, ἐν τούτῳ οἱ περὶ Θρασύβουλον ἀνα-λαβόντες

τὰ ὅπλα δρόμῳ προς-έπιπτον· καὶ κατ-έβαλον ἐνίους αὐτῶν, πάντας δὲ τρεψάμενοι ἐδίωξαν ἓξ ἢ ἑπτὰ στάδια, καὶ ἀπ-έκτειναν τῶν μὲν ὁπλιτῶν πλέον ἢ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν τῶν δὲ ἱππέων τρεῖς, κατα-λαβόντες αὐτοὺς ἔτι ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς ὄντας.

The Thirty, wishing to secure a Retreat in case of accident, arrest all the armed Inhabitants of Eleusis.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ τριάκοντα, οὐκέτι νομίζοντες τὰ πράγματα εἶναι ἀσφαλῆ σφίσιν, ἐβουλήθησαν Ἐλευσῖνα βεβαίως ἔχειν ὥστε εἶναι σφίσι κατα-φυγήν. καὶ παραγγείλαντες τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἦλθον εἰς Ἐλευσῖνα Κριτίας τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν τριάκοντα· ἐξέτασίν τε ποιήσαντες τῶν ὁπλιτῶν τῶν Ἐλευσινίων, φάσκοντες βούλεσθαι εἰδέναι πόσοι εἶεν καὶ πόσης φυλακῆς προς-δεήσοιντο, ἐκέλευον ἀπο-γράφεσθαι πάντας, τὸν δ' ἀπο-γραψάμενον ἀεὶ ἐξ-ιέναι διὰ τῆς πυλίδος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν κατ-έστησαν, τὸν δ' ἐξ-ιόντα ἀεὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται συν-έδουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες συν-ειλημμένοι ἦσαν, ἐκέλευον τὸν ἵππαρχον ἀν-αγαγόντα αὐτοὺς παρα-δοῦναι τοῖς ἕνδεκα.

Critias compels the Three Thousand to condemn the innocent Eleusinians.

Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς τὸ Ὠιδεῖον παρ-εκάλεσαν τοὺς ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ ὁπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας. ἀναστὰς δὲ Κριτίας ἔλεξεν· "Ἡμεῖς," ἔφη, "ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν ἧττον ὑμῖν κατα-σκευάζομεν τὴν πολιτείαν ἢ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς. δεῖ οὖν ὑμᾶς, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν τιμῶν μεθέξετε, οὕτω καὶ τῶν κινδύνων μετ-έχειν. τῶν οὖν συν-ειλημμένων Ἐλευσινίων κατα-ψηφιστέον ἐστὶν, ἵνα

ταὐτὰ ἡμῖν καὶ θαρρῆτε καὶ φοβῆσθε.' δείξας δέ τι χωρίον, εἰς τοῦτο ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς φανερὰν φέρειν τὴν ψῆφον. οἱ δὲ Λακωνικοὶ φρουροὶ ἐν τῷ ἡμίσει τοῦ Ὠιδείου ἐξ-ωπλισμένοι ἦσαν.

The Exiles seize the Piraeus and establish themselves in Munychia.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ὁ Θρασύβουλος, λαβὼν τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς συν-ειλεγμένους ἤδη περὶ χιλίους, ἀφ-ικνεῖται τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα, ἐπεὶ ἤσθοντο ταῦτα, ἐβοήθουν εὐθὺς σύν τε τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὁπλίταις. ἔπειτα ἐχώρουν κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ὁδόν. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς, ἐπεὶ ὁ κύκλος τοῦ Πειραιέως μέγας ἦν καὶ πολλῆς φυλακῆς ἐδεῖτο, ἦεσαν εἰς τὴν Μουνυχίαν. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος πρῶτον μὲν συν-ετάξαντο ὥστε ἐμ-πλῆσαι τὴν ὁδὸν ἣ φέρει πρὸς τὴν Μουνυχίαν, καὶ ἐγένοντο βάθος οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἀσπίδων. οὕτω δὲ συν-τεταγμένοι ἐχώρουν ἄνω. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἀντ-εν-έπλησαι μὲν τὴν ὁδὸν, βάθος δὲ οὐ πλέον ἢ εἰς δέκα ὁπλίτας ἐγένοντο. ἐτάχθησαν μέντοι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀκοντισταὶ, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ πετρο-βόλοι· οὗτοι μέντοι πολλοὶ ἦσαν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτόθεν προς-ἐγένοντο.

Speech of Thrasybulus. 'The gods and the ground are on our side.'

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ προς-ἦεσαν οἱ ἐναντίοι, Θρασύβουλος κελεύσας τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ θέσθαι τὰς ἀσπίδας καὶ αὐτὸς θέμενος, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὅπλα ἔχων, κατὰ μέσον στὰς ἔλεξεν· "Ἄνδρες πολῖται, βούλομαι τοὺς μὲν ὑμῶν διδάξαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀναμνῆσαι ὅτι οἱ θεοὶ φανερῶς ἡμῖν συμ-

μαχοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ ἐν εὐδίᾳ χειμῶνα ποιοῦσιν ὅταν ἡμῖν συμ-φέρῃ, καὶ πολλῶν ὄντων ἐναντίων διδόασιν ἡμῖν ὀλίγοις οὖσι τρόπαια ἵστασθαι· καὶ νῦν δὲ κεκομίκασιν ἡμᾶς εἰς χωρίον ἐν ᾧ οὗτοι μὲν πρὸς ὄρθιον ἴασιν, ἔνθα οὐ δύναιντ' ἂν οὔτε βάλλειν οὔτε ἀκοντίζειν ὑπὲρ τῶν προ-τεταγμένων, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄνωθεν καὶ δόρατα ἀφ-ιέντες καὶ ἀκόντια καὶ πέτρους βάλλοντες εἰς τὸ κάταντες ἐξ-ιξόμεθά τε αὐτῶν καὶ πολλοὺς κατα-τρώσομεν. καὶ οὐδὲ οἱ πρωτο-στάται ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου μαχοῦνται· ἐὰν γὰρ ὑμεῖς, ὥσπερ προς-ήκει, προθύμως ἀφ-ιῆτε τὰ βέλη, οὐδεὶς ἁμαρτήσεται τῶν πολεμίων, ὧν γε μεστὴ ἡ ὁδός· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ φυλαττόμενοι δραπετεύσουσιν ἀεὶ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀσπίσιν· ὥστε ἐξ-έσται ἡμῖν τύπτειν αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ τυφλοὺς ὅπου ἂν βουλώμεθα. ἐξ-άρξω μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ, ἡνίκ' ἂν καιρὸς ᾖ, παιᾶνα· τότε δὲ πάντες τιμωρώμεθα τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἀνθ' ὧν ὑβρίσθημεν.'

The Augur devotes himself. The Victory of the Exiles.

Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν καὶ μετα-στραφεὶς πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, ἡσυχίαν εἶχε· καὶ γὰρ ὁ μάντις παρ-ήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς μὴ ἐπι-τίθεσθαι, πρίν τις τῶν σφετέρων ἢ πέσοι ἢ τρωθείη· 'ἐπειδὰν μέντοι τοῦτο γένηται, ἡγησόμεθα μὲν,' ἔφη, 'ἡμεῖς, νίκη δ' ὑμῖν ἔσται ἑπομένοις, ἐμοὶ μέντοι θάνατος, ὥς γέ μοι δοκεῖ.' καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀν-έλαβον τὰ ὅπλα, αὐτὸς μὲν ὁ μάντις ὥσπερ ὑπὸ μοίρας τινὸς ἀγόμενος ἐκ-πηδήσας πρῶτος, ἐμ-πεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπο-θνήσκει· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐνίκων καὶ κατ-εδίωξαν μέχρι τοῦ ὁμαλοῦ· ἀπ-έθανον δ' ἐνταῦθα τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα Κριτίας τε καὶ ἕτερος, τῶν δ' ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ δέκα ἀρχόντων εἷς, τῶν δ' ἄλλων περὶ ἑβδομήκοντα.

The Speech of an Exile.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑπο-σπόνδους ἀπ-εδίδοσαν, πολλοὶ προς-ιόντες ἀλλήλοις δι-ελέγοντο. καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ τις μάλ' εὔφωνος ὤν, ἔλεξεν· "Ἄνδρες πολῖται, τί ἡμᾶς ἐξ-ελαύνετε; τί ἀπο-κτεῖναι βούλεσθε; ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὑμᾶς κακὸν οὐδὲν πώποτε ἐποιήσαμεν. παύσασθε ἁμαρτάνοντες εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ μὴ πείθεσθε τοῖς ἀν-οσιωτάτοις τριάκοντα, οἳ ἰδίων κέρδεων ἕνεκα ἀπ-εκτόνασιν ἐν ὀκτὼ μησὶν πλείους Ἀθηναίων ἢ πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι δέκα ἔτη πολεμοῦντες." ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἔλεγεν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἄρχοντες τοιαῦτα ἀκούσαντες ἀπ-ήγαγον τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτῶν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ.

The Thirty are deposed.

Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα πάνυ δὴ ταπεινοὶ καὶ ἔρημοι συν-εκάθηντο ἐν τῷ συν-εδρίῳ· τῶν δὲ τρισχιλίων, ὅπου ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι ἦσαν, πανταχοῦ δι-εφέροντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους. Ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ ἐπεποιήκεσάν τι βιαιότερον καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο ἔλεγον, ὡς οὐ χρὴ εἴκειν τοῖς ἐν Πειραιεῖ· ὅσοι δὲ ἐπίστευον μηδὲν ἠδικηκέναι, οὐκ ἔφασαν χρῆναι πείθεσθαι τοῖς τριάκοντα, οὐδ' ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτοῖς ἀπ-ολλύναι τὴν πόλιν. Καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐψηφίσαντο ἐκείνους μὲν κατα-παῦσαι, ἄλλους δὲ ἑλέσθαι.

A Council of Ten succeeds. Application to Sparta.

Καὶ εἵλοντο δέκα, ἕνα ἀπὸ φυλῆς ἑκάστης. Καὶ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα Ἐλευσῖνά-δε ἀπ-ῆλθον· οἱ δὲ δέκα, τῶν ἐν ἄστει ἀπιστούντων ἀλλήλοις, ἀεὶ ἐφοβοῦντο, μὴ ἐπ-εις-πέσοιεν αὐτοῖς τινὲς τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιέως. Ἀμφότεροι δὲ ἔπεμπον πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, οἱ

μὲν τριάκοντα ἐξ Ἐλευσῖνος, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ ἐξ ἄστεος, καὶ ἐκέλευον βοηθεῖν ὡς ἀφ-εστηκότος τοῦ δήμου ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων.

Lysander attacks the Piraeus.

Λύσανδρος οὖν ἐλογίσατο, ὅτι ταχὺ ἐκ-πολιορκήσοι τοὺς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ κατά τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, εἰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπο-κλεισθείησαν· οὕτω δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν κατὰ γῆν ἁρμοστὴς, ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ναυ-αρχῶν ἐξ-επέμφθη. Καὶ ἐξ-ελθὼν αὐτὸς μὲν Ἐλευσῖνά-δε συν-ελέγετο ὁπλίτας πολλοὺς Πελοποννησίων· ὁ δὲ ναύ-αρχος κατὰ θάλατταν ἐφύλαττεν, ὅπως μηδὲν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων εἰς-πλέοι αὐτοῖς· ὥστε ταχὺ πάλιν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ ἄστει πάλιν αὖ μέγα ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ.

Pausanias prevents the Victory of Lysander.

Οὕτω δὲ προ-χωρούντων, Παυσανίας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐφ-θόνει Λυσάνδρῳ, πείσας δὲ τρεῖς τῶν ἐφόρων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξ-άγει στράτευμα. ὁ δὲ Παυσανίας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο μὲν πρὸς τῷ Πειραιεῖ δέξιον ἔχων κέρας, Λύσανδρος δὲ σὺν τοῖς μισθοφόροις τὸ εὐώνυμον. λάθρᾳ δὲ πέμπων ὁ Παυσανίας παρ-εκάλει τε τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ πρέσβεις πέμπειν καὶ ἐδίδασκεν οἷα χρὴ λέγειν αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὗτοι ᾤχοντο εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, ἔπεμπον δὴ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος.

Peace at last.

Ἀκούσαντες δὲ πάντων αὐτῶν οἱ ἔφοροι ἐξ-έπεμψαν πεντε-καί-δεκα ἄνδρας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἐπ-έταξαν σὺν Παυσανίᾳ δι-αλλάξαι ὅπῃ δύναιντο κάλλιστα. Οἱ δὲ δι-ήλλαξαν ἐφ' ᾧτε 'εἰρήνην μὲν ἔχειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους,

ἀπ-ιέναι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστον πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τῶν ἕνδεκα καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ ἀρ-
325 ξάντων δέκα. Εἰ δέ τινες τῶν ἐξ ἄστεος φοβοῖντο,' ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ''Ελευσῖνα κατ-οικεῖν.' Τούτων δὲ περαν-θέντων, Παυσανίας μὲν δι-ῆκε τὸ στράτευμα, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιέως ἀν-ελθόντες σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔθυσαν τῇ 'Αθηνᾷ.

The End of the Thirty.

330 'Ο δὲ Θρασύβουλος εἰπὼν ὅτι οὐδὲν δέοι ταράττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρῆσθαι, ἀν-έστησε τὴν 'Εκκλησίαν. /ὑστέρῳ δὲ χρόνῳ ἀκούσαντες τοὺς 'Ελευσῖνι μισθοῦσθαι ξένους, στρατευσάμενοι ἐπ' αὐτούς, τοὺς μὲν στρατηγοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπ-έκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἔπεισαν
335 συν-αλλαγῆναι· καὶ ὀμόσαντες μὴ μνησικακήσειν, ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὁμοῦ τε πολιτεύονται, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐμ-μένει τοῖς ὅρκοις.

SECTION III.

THE SPARTAN SUPREMACY.

B.C. 399—395.

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THE SPARTAN SUPREMACY.

B.C. 399—395.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

The expedition of Cyrus and the still more famous retreat under Xenophon were immortalised in the Anabasis. The story of a retreat successfully effected against such overwhelming odds inspired the Greeks with a supreme contempt for the imbecility of Persia. The Greek cities on the Asiatic coast were not inclined to submit patiently to the Persian yoke, and when Tissaphernes tried to re-conquer them they appealed to Sparta, as the great imperial power of Greece, to protect them from Barbarian domination.

1. SPARTAN POLICY IN ASIA.

B.C. 399.

How Sparta took part in the Anabasis of Cyrus.

Ἡ μὲν δὴ Ἀθήνησι στάσις οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου Κῦρος πέμψας ἀγγέλους εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἠξίου, Λακεδαιμονίους αὐτῷ γίγνεσθαι τοιούτους, οἱόσπερ αὐτὸς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἦν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμῳ. οἱ δ' ἔφοροι, νομίσαντες αὐτὸν λέγειν δίκαια, ἐπ-έστειλαν Σαμίῳ τῷ τότε ναυάρχῳ ὑπ-ηρετεῖν Κύρῳ, εἴ τι δέοιτο. κἀκεῖνος μέντοι προθύμως ἔπραξεν ὅπερ ἐδεήθη ὁ Κῦρος· ἔχων γὰρ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ναυτικὸν σὺν τῷ Κύρου περι-έπλευσεν εἰς Κιλικίαν καὶ ἐποίησε τὸν τῆς Κιλικίας ἄρχοντα Συέννεσιν μὴ δύνασθαι κατὰ γῆν ἐναντιοῦσθαι Κύρῳ πορευο-

μένῳ ἐπὶ βασιλέα. ὡς μὲν οὖν Κῦρος στράτευμά τε συν-έλεξε καὶ τοῦτ' ἔχων ἀν-έβη ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ ὡς ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο καὶ ὡς ἀπ-έθανε καὶ ὡς ἐκ τούτου ἀπεσώθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ θάλατταν, Θεμιστογένει τῷ Συρακοσίῳ γέγραπται.

Sparta sends out Thibron to help the Ionian cities against Tissaphernes.

Ἐπεὶ μέντοι Τισσαφέρνης, βασιλεῖ δόξας γεγενῆσθαι πολλοῦ ἄξιος ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν πολέμῳ, κατεπέμφθη σατράπης ὢν τε αὐτὸς πρόσθεν ἦρχε καὶ ὧν Κῦρος, εὐθὺς ἠξίου τὰς Ἰωνικὰς πόλεις ἁπάσας ἑαυτῷ ὑπηκόους εἶναι. αἱ δὲ ἔπεμπον πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα καὶ ἠξίουν, ἐπεὶ πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος προστάται εἰσὶν, ἐπι-μεληθῆναι καὶ σφῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἑλλήνων, ὅπως ἥ τε χώρα αὐτῶν μὴ δηοῖτο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐλεύθεροι εἶεν. οἱ οὖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι πέμπουσιν αὐτοῖς Θίβρωνα ἁρμοστὴν, δόντες στρατιώτας τῶν μὲν νεοδαμώδων εἰς χιλίους, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Πελοποννησίων εἰς τετρακις-χιλίους. ᾐτήσατο δ' ὁ Θίβρων καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίων τριακοσίους ἱππέας εἰπὼν, ὅτι αὐτὸς μισθὸν παρ-έξει. οἱ δ' ἔπεμψαν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἱππεύσαντας, νομίζοντες κέρδος ἂν εἶναι τῷ δήμῳ, εἰ οὗτοι ἀπο-δημοῖεν καὶ ἐν-απ-όλοιντο. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀφ-ίκοντο, συν-ήγαγε μὲν στρατιώτας καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων· πᾶσαι γὰρ τότε αἱ πόλεις ἐπείθοντο ὅ τι Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀνὴρ ἐπιτάττοι. ἔπειτα δὲ σωθέντες οἱ ἀνα-βάντες μετὰ Κύρου συν-έμιξαν αὐτῷ.

Dercylidas succeeds Thibron: he marches to Aeolis.

Ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δὲ ἤδη ὄντος αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐπὶ Καρίαν πορευομένου Δερκυλίδας ἄρξων ἀφ-ίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα, ἀνὴρ

δοκῶν εἶναι μάλα μηχανητικός· καὶ ἐπ-εκαλεῖτο δὲ Σίσυφος. ὁ μὲν οὖν Θίβρων ἀπ-ῆλθεν οἴκαδε, ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας παρ-ήγαγε τὸ στράτευμα διὰ τῆς φιλίας χώρας μέχρι τῆς Φαρναβάζου Αἰολίδος.

2. THE STORY OF MANIA.

B. C. 399.

How she became Queen of Aeolis.

Ἡ δὲ Αἰολὶς αὕτη ἦν μὲν Φαρναβάζου, ἐσατράπευε δ' αὐτῷ ταύτης τῆς χώρας, ἕως μὲν ἔζη, Ζῆνις· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκεῖνος νόσῳ ἀπ-έθανε, παρ-εσκευάζετο μὲν ὁ Φαρναβάζος ἄλλῳ δοῦναι τὴν σατραπείαν. Μανία δὲ ἡ τοῦ Ζήνιος γυνὴ, ἀνα-ζεύξασα στόλον καὶ δῶρα λαβοῦσα, ἐπορεύετο πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐλθοῦσα δ' εἰς λόγους εἶπεν· 'Ὦ Φαρνάβαζε, ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἐμὸς καὶ τἆλλα φίλος ἦν σοι καὶ τοὺς φόρους ἀπ-εδίδου, ὥστε σὺ ἐπ-αινῶν αὐτὸν ἐτίμας. ἦν οὖν ἐγώ σοι μηδὲν χεῖρον ἐκείνου ὑπηρετῶ, τί σε δεῖ ἄλλον σατράπην καθ-ιστάναι; ἢν δέ τι μὴ ἀρέσκω σοι, ἐπὶ σοὶ δήπου ἔσται ἀφ-ελομένῳ ἐμὲ δοῦναι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἄλλῳ.' ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Φαρνάβαζος ἔγνω δεῖν τὴν γυναῖκα σατραπεύειν. ἡ δ' ἐπεὶ κυρία τῆς χώρας ἐγένετο, τούς τε φόρους οὐδὲν ἧττον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπ-εδίδου καὶ πρὸς τούτοις συν-εστρατεύετο τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ ὁπότε εἰς Μυσοὺς ἢ Πισίδας ἐμ-βάλλοι. ὥστε καὶ ἀντ-ετίμα αὐτὴν μεγαλοπρεπῶς ὁ Φαρνάβαζος καὶ σύμβουλον ἔστιν ὅτε παρ-εκάλει.

The Usurpation of Midias.

Ἤδη δ' οὔσης αὐτῆς ἐτῶν πλέον ἢ τετταράκοντα, Μειδίας, ἀνὴρ ὢν θυγατρὸς αὐτῆς, ἀνα-πτερωθεὶς ὑπό τινων,

ὡς αἰσχρὸν εἴη γυναῖκα μὲν ἄρχειν, αὐτὸν δ' ἰδιώτην εἶναι, εἰς-ελθὼν ἀπο-πνίξαι αὐτὴν λέγεται. ἀπ-έκτεινε δὲ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς, τό τε εἶδος ὄντα πάγκαλον καὶ ἐτῶν ὄντα ὡς ἑπτα-καί-δεκα. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας τὰς πόλεις κατ-έσχεν, ἔνθα καὶ τὰ χρήματα μάλιστα ἦν τῇ Μανίᾳ. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πέμψας δῶρα τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ ἠξίου ἔχειν τὴν χώραν ὥσπερ ἡ Μανία. ὁ δ' ἀπ-εκρίνατο φυλάττειν αὐτὰ, ἕστ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ λάβῃ τὰ δῶρα· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔφη βούλεσθαι ζῆν μὴ τιμωρήσας Μανίᾳ.

The Arrival of Dercylidas.

Ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἀφ-ικνεῖται. ὁ δὲ Μειδίας προς-δοκῶν μὲν τὸν Φαρνάβαζον, ὀκνῶν δ' ἤδη τοὺς πολίτας, ἐξ-ἦλθε καὶ συμ-μίξας τῷ Δερκυλίδᾳ ἠρώτα, ἐπὶ τίσιν ἂν σύμμαχος γένοιτο. ὁ δ' ἀπ-εκρίνατο ἐφ' ᾧτε 'τοὺς πολίτας ἐλευθέρους τε καὶ αὐτονόμους ἐᾶν.' ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα λέγων ἦει πρὸς τὰς πύλας σὺν τῷ Μειδίᾳ, καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ εἰρηνικῶς· εἰς δύο. οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων καὶ μάλα ὑψηλῶν ὄντων ὁρῶντες τὸν Μειδίαν σὺν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔβαλλον· εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Δερκυλίδου· 'Κέλευσον, ὦ Μειδία, ἀν-οῖξαι τὰς πύλας, ἵνα ἡγῇ μὲν σὺ, ἐγὼ δὲ σὺν σοὶ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἔλθω καὶ ἐνταῦθα θύσω τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ,' ὁ Μειδίας ὤκνει μὲν ἀν-οίγειν τὰς πύλας, φοβούμενος δὲ, μὴ παραχρῆμα συλ-ληφθῇ, ἐκέλευεν ἀν-οῖξαι.

Midias admits Dercylidas into the city.

Ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ εἰς-ἦλθεν, ἔχων αὖ τὸν Μειδίαν ἐπορεύετο πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους στρατιώτας ἐκέλευε θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα περὶ τὰ τείχη, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἔθυε τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐτέθυτο, ἀν-είπε

καὶ τοὺς Μειδίου δορυφόρους θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύματος, ὡς μισθοφορήσοντας· 90 'Μειδίᾳ γὰρ,' ἔφη, 'οὐδὲν ἔτι δεινὸν ἔσται.' ὁ μέντοι Μειδίας ἀπορῶν, ὅ τι ποιοίη, εἶπεν, ''Εγὼ μὲν τοίνυν ἄπ-ειμι,' ἔφη, 'ξένιά σοι παρα-σκευάσων.' ὁ δὲ, 'Οὐ μὰ Δί',' ἔφη, 'ἐπεὶ αἰσχρὸν ἂν εἴη ἐμὲ τεθυκότα ξενίζεσθαι ὑπὸ σοῦ, ἀλλὰ μὴ ξενίζειν σέ. μένε οὖν παρ' ἡμῖν· ἐν ᾧ 95 δ' ἂν τὸ δεῖπνον παρα-σκευάζηται, ἐγὼ καὶ σὺ τὰ δίκαια πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ δια-σκεψόμεθα καὶ ποιήσομεν.

Diamond cut Diamond.

'Επεὶ δ' ἐκαθέζοντο, ἠρώτα ὁ Δερκυλίδας· 'Εἰπέ μοι, ὦ Μειδία, ὁ πατήρ σε ἄρχοντα τοῦ οἴκου κατ-έλιπε;' 'Μάλιστα,' ἔφη. 'Καὶ πόσαι σοι οἰκίαι ἦσαν; πόσοι 100 δὲ χῶροι; πόσαι δέ νομαί;' ἀπο-γράφοντος δ' αὐτοῦ οἱ παρ-όντες τῶν πολιτῶν εἶπον· 'Ψεύδεταί σε οὗτος, ὦ Δερκυλίδα.' ''Υμεῖς δέ γ',' ἔφη, 'μὴ λίαν μικρολογεῖσθε.' ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπ-εγέγραπτο τὰ πατρῷα, 'Εἰπέ μοι,' ἔφη, 'Μανία δὲ τίνος ἦν;' οἱ δὲ πάντες εἶπον, ὅτι 'Φαρ- 105 ναβάζου.' 'Οὐκοῦν καὶ τὰ ἐκείνης,' ἔφη, 'Φαρναβάζου;' 'Μάλιστα,' ἔφασαν. ''Ημέτερ' ἂν εἴη,' ἔφη, 'ἐπεὶ κρατοῦμεν· πολέμιος γὰρ ἡμῖν Φαρνάβαζος. ἀλλ' ἡγείσθω τις,' ἔφη, 'ὅπου κεῖται τὰ Μανίας καὶ τὰ Φαρναβάζου.' ἡγουμένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ τὴν Μανίας οἴκησιν, 110 ἣν παρ-ειλήφει ὁ Μειδίας, ἠκολούθει κἀκεῖνος.

The Robber robbed.

'Επεὶ δ' εἰς-ῆλθεν, ἐκάλει ὁ Δερκυλίδας τοὺς ταμίας, φράσας δὲ τοῖς ὑπηρέταις λαβεῖν αὐτοὺς προ-εῖπεν αὐτοῖς, ὡς, εἴ τι κλέπτοντες ἁλώσοιντο τῶν Μανίας, παραχρῆμα ἀπο-σφαγήσοιντο. οἱ δ' ἐδείκνυσαν. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ εἶδε 115

πάντα, κατ-έκλεισεν αὐτὰ καὶ κατ-εσημήνατο καὶ φύλακας κατ-έστησεν. ἐξ-ιὼν δὲ εἶπε τοῖς ταξιάρχοις καὶ λοχαγοῖς, οὓς εὗρεν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις· 'Μισθὸς μὲν ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, εἴργασται τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐγγὺς ἐνιαυτοῦ ὀκτακις-χιλίοις ἀνδράσιν· ἢν δέ τι προς-εργασώμεθα, καὶ ταῦτα προς-έσται.' ταῦτα δ' εἶπε γιγνώσκων, ὅτι ἀκούσαντες πολὺ εὐτακτότεροι καὶ θεραπευτικώτεροι ἔσοιντο. ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Μειδίου 'Ἐμὲ δὲ ποῦ χρὴ οἰκεῖν, ὦ Δερκυλίδα;' ἀπ-εκρίνατο· 'Ἔνθαπερ καὶ δικαιότατον, ὦ Μειδία, ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τῇ σαυτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ πατρῴᾳ οἰκίᾳ.'

3. SPARTAN TREATMENT OF ELIS.

B. C. 399.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

SPARTA was now supreme in Greece. Athens was not only divested of all her former supremacy, but was numbered among the subject allies who were bound to follow the leadership of Sparta. This leadership was employed for somewhat different purposes from those for which the Athenian leadership had been. Whereas the aim of Athenian policy had been the formation of a great Greek confederation, the aims of Sparta were more directly addressed to her own aggrandisement. The one object which the Spartans constantly pursued was the dismemberment of the rest of Greece. They looked with peculiar jealousy on the little confederacies which naturally existed within the other cantons. They grudged Thebes her presidency over the Boeotian towns. They would not allow any union between Argos and Corinth, and now they make war on Elis because they will not tolerate her exercising any of the rights of a metropolis over the outlying villages of her canton.

Sparta demands the Dissolution of the Confederation of Elis.

Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ὑπὸ Δερκυλίδα, Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὠργίζοντο τοῖς Ἠλείοις. Ἄγιδα γάρ

ποτε πεμφθέντα θῦσαι τῷ Διὶ οἱ Ἠλεῖοι ἐκώλυον μὴ προς-εύχεσθαι νίκην πολέμου, λέγοντες, ὡς καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἴη οὕτω νόμιμον, μὴ χρηστηριάζεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐφ' Ἑλλήνων πολέμῳ· ὥστε ἄθυτος ἀπ-ῆλθεν. ἔδοξεν οὖν τοῖς ἐφόροις καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ σωφρονίσαι αὐτούς. πέμψαντες οὖν πρέσβεις εἰς Ἦλιν εἶπον, ὅτι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις δίκαιον δοκοίη εἶναι τοὺς Ἠλείους ἀφ-ιέναι τὰς περιοικίδας πόλεις αὐτονόμους. ἀποκριναμένων δὲ τῶν Ἠλείων, ὅτι οὐ ποιήσοιεν ταῦτα, ἐπιληίδας γὰρ ἔχοιεν τὰς πόλεις, φρουρὰν ἔφηναν οἱ ἔφοροι.

Agis invades Elis.

Ἄγων δὲ τὸ στράτευμα Ἀγις ἐν-έβαλεν εἰς τὴν Ἠλείαν. ἄρτι δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος ὄντος ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ καὶ κοπτομένης τῆς χώρας σεισμὸς ἐπι-γίγνεται· ὁ δ' Ἀγις θεῖον ἡγησάμενος ἐξ-ελθὼν πάλιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας δι-αφ-ῆκε τὸ στράτευμα. ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ Ἠλεῖοι πολὺ θρασύτεροι ἦσαν καὶ δι-επρεσβεύοντο εἰς τὰς πόλεις, ὅσας ἤδεσαν δυσμενεῖς τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις οὔσας. περι-ιόντι δὲ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ φαίνουσι πάλιν οἱ ἔφοροι φρουρὰν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἦλιν, καὶ συν-εστρατεύοντο τῷ Ἀγιδι πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων οἵ τε ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι πάντες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. ὁ δὲ Ἀγις πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ ἐπορεύετο, κόπτων καὶ καίων τὴν χώραν, καὶ ὑπέρπολλα μὲν κτήνη, ὑπέρπολλα δὲ ἀνδράποδα ἠλίσκετο ἐκ τῆς χώρας· ὥστε ἀκούοντες καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ ἑκόντες ἦεσαν συστρατευσόμενοι καὶ μετ-εῖχον τῆς ἁρπαγῆς. καὶ ἐγένετο αὕτη ἡ στρατεία ὥσπερ ἐπισιτισμὸς τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ.

Oligarchical Conspiracy in Elis. Narrow escape of Thrasydaeus the Democrat.

Δῃουμένης δὲ τῆς χώρας τινὲς τῶν ἐν τῷ ἄστει, βουλόμενοι τὸ λεγόμενον μεδίμνῳ ἀπο-μετρήσασθαι τὸ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀργύριον, ξίφη ἔχοντες σφαγὰς ποιοῦσι καὶ ἀπο-κτείναντες ὅμοιόν τινα Θρασυδαίῳ τῷ τοῦ δήμου προστάτῃ, ᾧοντο Θρασυδαῖον ἀπ-εκτονέναι, ὥστε ὁ μὲν δῆμος παντελῶς κατ-ηθύμησε καὶ ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν. οἱ δὲ σφαγεῖς πάντ' ᾧοντο πεπραγμένα εἶναι, καὶ οἱ ὁμογνώμονες αὐτοῖς ἐξ-εφέροντο τὰ ὅπλα εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν. ὁ δὲ Θρασυδαῖος ἔτι καθεύδων ἐτύγχανεν οὗπερ ἐμεθύσθη. ὡς δὲ ᾔσθετο ὁ δῆμος, ὅτι οὐ τέθνηκεν ὁ Θρασυδαῖος, περι-επλήσθη ἡ οἰκία ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ ἑσμοῦ μελιττῶν ὁ ἡγεμών. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἠγεῖτο ὁ Θρασυδαῖος ἀνα-λαβὼν τὸν δῆμον, γενομένης μάχης ἐκράτησεν ὁ δῆμος, ἐξέπεσον δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους οἱ ἐγ-χειρήσαντες ταῖς σφαγαῖς.

Sparta achieves the Dismemberment of Elis.

Ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ ὁ Ἄγις ἀπ-ιὼν δι-έβη πάλιν τὸν Ἀλφειόν, φρουροὺς κατ-έλιπε πλησίον τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ καὶ ἁρμοστὴν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ Ἤλιδος φυγάδας. καὶ τὸ μὲν λοιπὸν θέρος καὶ τὸν ἐπ-ιόντα χειμῶνα ἐφέρετο καὶ ἤγετο ἡ τῶν Ἠλείων χώρα. τοῦ δ' ἐπ-ιόντος θέρους πέμψας Θρασυδαῖος εἰς Λακεδαίμονα συν-εχώρησε ἀφ-ιέναι τὰς περιοικίδας πόλεις αὐτονόμους. τούτων δὲ συγ-χωρηθέντων εἰρήνη τε γίγνεται καὶ συμμαχία Ἠλείων πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους. καὶ οὕτω μὲν δὴ ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἠλείων πόλεμος ἔληξε.

4. SPARTAN AFFAIRS AT HOME. B.C. 398.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

THE foreign policy of a nation is generally a fair index of the nature of its home-government. This was true in an especial degree in the case of Sparta. We have seen what her foreign policy was in the case of Athens and of Elis. Her home-government was marked by the same suspicious distrust, the same narrow-minded selfishness. In fact her rule in Laconia was little better than a military occupation of the country. There was no mingling of races, for the Spartans never forgot that they were descended from Dorian invaders of Achaean territory. Thus they marked themselves off as a military aristocracy, and continued to exclude the native population from all political rights, in order that they might maintain their own race as 'the Peers' or hereditary rulers of the country.

So entirely did these Peers get the power into their own hands that, in spite of the existence of two kings, the constitution was really an oligarchy in the strictest sense of the term. The five Ephors, as the representatives of the Peers, were supreme in the state; they were as jealous of the power of the kings above them as they were of any liberty among those below them. As in the case of the two consuls at Rome, the one king was a check on the power of the other; while the only important office which they were allowed to exercise was that of commander-in-chief. A capable or ambitious peer had no chance of aspiring to the dignities of royalty, limited though they were. The succession to the kingly power was fixed by the same unalterable principle of descent which regulated everything else in the stereotyped constitution of the state.

By a similar barrier of race, the Peers were separated from the Perioeci, or 'country people,' who were not admitted to the full rights of citizenship. These formed the middle class, and carried on the commerce and manufactures of the country,—professions which no true-born Spartan would deign to adopt.

The working classes, or Helots, were serfs attached to the soil: they were useful for fighting battles[1]; but they were considered a dangerous class, and if they displayed unusual bravery were liable to be put out of the way.

In this Procrustean system there was no chance of rising, but there was a chance of falling: if any of the peers or true Spartans could not pay their quota of contribution to the common meal, they sank into the condition of 'inferiors' (*ὑπομείονες*). As the wealth of the leading Spartans increased with their conquests, the scale of living probably rose and with it the amount of the contribution required; hence, in the lapse of years, the Inferiors were continually increasing in number, and

[1] See note on l. 25, p. 151.

being self-excluded from trade were rarely able to recover their position, so that the discontent at the disparity of fortunes became greater. The intense unpopularity of such a system can be easily conceived. If we picture to ourselves the antipathy which would have been felt in England towards the Norman conquerors if they had maintained themselves as a separate caste, we shall have some idea of the bitterness of feeling entertained towards the Spartan Peers. The Helots made continual attempts at revolt. The conspiracy of Cinadon showed that the discontent was not confined to the lower orders.

Disputed Succession.

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ἄγις ἀφ-ικόμενος εἰς Δελφοὺς καὶ τὴν δεκάτην ἀπο-θύσας, πάλιν ἀπ-ιὼν ἔκαμεν, γέρων ἤδη ὤν, καὶ ἀπ-ηνέχθη μὲν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἔτι ζῶν, ἐκεῖ δὲ ταχὺ ἐτελεύτησε· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδει βασιλέα καθ-ίστασθαι, ἀντ-έλεγον περὶ βασιλείας Λεωτυχίδης, υἱὸς φάσκων Ἄγιδος εἶναι, Ἀγησίλαος δὲ ἀδελφός. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Λεωτυχίδου, 'Ἀλλ' ὁ νόμος, ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, οὐκ ἀδελφὸν, ἀλλ' υἱὸν βασιλέως βασιλεύειν κελεύει. εἰ δὲ υἱὸς ὢν μὴ τυγχάνοι, ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἂν βασιλεύοι.' 'Ἐμὲ ἂν δέοι βασιλεύειν.' 'Πῶς, ἐμοῦ γε ὄντος;' 'Ὅτι ὃν σὺ καλεῖς πατέρα, οὐκ ἔφη σε εἶναι ἑαυτοῦ.' 'Ἀλλ' ἡ πολὺ κάλλιον ἐκείνου εἰδυῖα μήτηρ καὶ νῦν ἔτι φησίν.'

Oracle against a 'lame king.'

Οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτ' ἔλεγον. Διοπείθης δὲ, μάλα χρησμολόγος ἀνὴρ, Λεωτυχίδῃ συν-αγορεύων εἶπεν, ὡς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος χρησμὸς εἴη 'φυλάξασθαι τὴν χωλὴν βασιλείαν.' Λύσανδρος δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ Ἀγησιλάου ἀντ-εῖπεν, ὡς 'οὐκ οἴοιτο τὸν θεὸν τοῦτο κελεύειν φυλάξασθαι, μὴ προς-πταίσας τις χωλεύσαι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μὴ οὐκ ὢν τοῦ γένους βασιλεύσειε. παντάπασι γὰρ ἂν χωλὴν εἶναι τὴν βασιλείαν, ὁπότε μὴ οἱ ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους ἡγοῖντο τῆς πόλεως.' τοιαῦτα δ' ἀκούσασα ἡ πόλις ἀμφοτέρων Ἀγησίλαον εἵλοντο βασιλέα.

Discovery of the Conspiracy of Cinadon.

Οὕπω δ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὄντος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ἀγησιλάου, θύοντος αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως εἶπεν ὁ μάντις, ὅτι ἐπιβουλήν τινα φαίνοιεν οἱ θεοί. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἔθυεν, ἔτι δεινότερα ἔφη τὰ ἱερὰ φαίνεσθαι. τὸ τρίτον δὲ θύοντος εἶπεν· 'Ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, ὥσπερ εἰ ἐν αὐτοῖς εἴημεν τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὕτω μοι σημαίνεται.' λεγούσης δὲ τῆς θυσίας ἐντὸς πένθ' ἡμερῶν κατ-αγορεύει τις πρὸς τοὺς ἐφόρους ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τοῦ πράγματος Κινάδωνα. οὗτος δ' ἦν νεανίσκος καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν εὔρωστος, οὐ μέντοι τῶν ὁμοίων.

Unpopularity of the Spartan Government.

Ἐρομένων δὲ τῶν ἐφόρων, 'πῶς φαίη τὴν πρᾶξιν ἔσεσθαι,' εἶπεν ὁ εἰς-αγγείλας, ὅτι 'ὁ Κινάδων ἀγαγὼν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔσχατον τῆς ἀγορᾶς κελεύοι ἀριθμῆσαι, ὁπόσοι εἶεν Σπαρτιᾶται ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ.' 'καὶ ἐγὼ,' ἔφη, 'ἀριθμήσας βασιλέα τε καὶ ἐφόρους καὶ γέροντας καὶ ἄλλους ὡς τετταράκοντα, ἠρόμην· "Τί δή με τούτους, ὦ Κινάδων, ἐκέλευσας ἀριθμῆσαι;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε, "Τούτους νόμιζέ σοι πολεμίους εἶναι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους πάντας συμμάχους πλέον ἢ τετρακισχιλίους ὄντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ."' ἔφη δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπι-δεικνύναι ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἔνθα μὲν ἕνα ἔνθα δὲ δύο πολεμίους ἀπ-αντῶντας, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἅπαντας συμμάχους· καὶ ὅσοι δὲ ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις Σπαρτιατῶν τύχοιεν ὄντες, ἕνα μὲν πολέμιον τὸν δεσπότην, συμμάχους δ' ἐν ἑκάστῳ πολλούς. ἐρωτώντων δὲ τῶν ἐφόρων, 'πόσους φαίη καὶ τοὺς συν-ειδότας τὴν πρᾶξιν εἶναι,' λέγειν καὶ περὶ τούτου ἔφη αὐτὸν, ὡς 'ὅπου τις λόγος γένοιτο περὶ Σπαρτιατῶν, οὐδένα δύνασθαι κρύπτειν τὸ μὴ οὐχ ἡδέως ἂν καὶ ὠμῶν ἐσθίειν αὐτῶν.'

The Ephors get Cinadon to go unsuspectingly into the Lion's den.

Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ ἔφοροι ἐξ-επλάγησαν καὶ ἐβουλεύσαντο πέμψαι τὸν Κινάδωνα εἰς Αὐλῶνα σὺν ἄλλοις τῶν νεωτέρων καὶ κελεῦσαι ἥκειν ἄγοντα τῶν Αὐλωνιτῶν τέ τινας καὶ τῶν εἱλώτων τοὺς ἐν τῇ σκυτάλῃ γεγραμμένους. ὑπηρετήκει δὲ καὶ ἄλλ' ἤδη ὁ Κινάδων τοῖς ἐφόροις τοιαῦτα. καὶ τότε δὴ ἔδοσαν τὴν σκυτάλην αὐτῷ, ἐν ᾗ γεγραμμένοι ἦσαν οὓς ἔδει συλ-ληφθῆναι. ἐρομένου δὲ, 'τίνας ἄγοι μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τῶν νέων,' 'Ἴθι,' εἶπον, 'καὶ τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν ἱππαγρετῶν κέλευέ σοι συμ-πέμψαι ἓξ ἢ ἑπτὰ, οἳ ἂν τύχωσι παρ-όντες.' ἐμεμελήκει δὲ αὐτοῖς, ὅπως ὁ ἱππαγρέτης εἰδείη οὓς δέοι πέμπειν καὶ οἱ πεμπόμενοι εἰδεῖεν, ὅτι Κινάδωνα δέοι συλ-λαβεῖν. εἶπον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τῷ Κινάδωνι, ὅτι πέμψοιεν τρεῖς ἁμάξας, ἵνα μὴ πεζοὺς ἄγωσι τοὺς ληφθέντας, ἀφανίζοντες ὡς ἐδύναντο μάλιστα, ὅτι ἐφ' ἕνα ἐκεῖνον ἔπεμπον.

The Fall of the Conspirators.

Ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει οὐ συν-ελάμβανον αὐτὸν, ὅτι τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐκ ἤδεσαν ὁπόσον τὸ μέγεθος εἴη. ὡς δ' ἀν-ήχθη ὁ Κινάδων εἰλημμένος καὶ ἠλέγχετο καὶ ὡμολόγει πάντα καὶ τοὺς συν-ειδότας ἔλεγεν, οἱ Ἔφοροι ἤροντο αὐτὸν, 'τί καὶ βουλόμενος ταῦτα πράττοι.' ὁ δ' ἀπ-εκρίνατο, 'μηδενὸς ἧττων εἶναι ἐν Λακεδαίμονι.' ἐκ τούτου μέντοι ἤδη αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ τῆς δίκης ἔτυχον.

5. AGESILAUS IN ASIA.

B. C. 396, 395.

Fear of a Persian Armada. Agesilaus organizes a Crusade.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Συρακόσιός τις, ἐν Φοινίκῃ ὢν, ἰδὼν πολλὰς τριήρεις Φοινίσσας κατα-σκευαζομένας, προς-ακούσας δὲ, ὅτι τριακοσίας αὐτὰς δέοι γενέσθαι, ἐπι-βὰς ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἀν-αγόμενον πλοῖον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐξ-ήγγειλε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὡς βασιλεὺς καὶ Τισσαφέρνης στόλον παρα-σκευάζοιντο· ὅποι δὲ μέλλοι πλεῖν ὁ στόλος, οὐδὲν ἔφη εἰδέναι. τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων βουλευομένων, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, Λύσανδρος λογιζόμενος ὡς ἐσώθησαν οἱ μετὰ Κύρου ἀνα-βάντες πείθει τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὑπο-στῆναι, ἣν αὐτῷ δῶσι τριάκοντα μὲν Σπαρτιατῶν, εἰς δισχιλίους δὲ τῶν νεοδαμώδων, εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους δὲ τῶν συμμάχων, στρατεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.

Duplicity of Tissaphernes.

Καὶ συλ-λέξας τὸ στράτευμα ἔπλει εἰς Ἔφεσον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖσε ἀφ-ίκετο, πρῶτον μὲν Τισσαφέρνης πέμψας ἤρετο αὐτὸν, 'τίνος δεόμενος ἥκοι.' ὁ δ' εἶπε, 'δέομαι αὐτονόμους καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις εἶναι, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ παρ' ἡμῖν Ἑλλάδι.' πρὸς ταῦτ' εἶπεν ὁ Τισσαφέρνης· 'Εἰ τοίνυν θέλεις σπείσασθαι, ἕως ἂν ἐγὼ πρὸς βασιλέα πέμψω, οἶμαι ἄν σε ταῦτα δια-πραξάμενον ἀπο-πλεῖν, εἰ βούλοιο.' 'Ἀλλὰ βουλοίμην ἄν,' ἔφη, 'εἰ μὴ οἰοίμην γε ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐξ-απατᾶσθαι.' 'ἀλλ' ὀμοῦμαι,' ἔφη, 'σοι ἦ μὴν ἀδόλως σοῦ πράττοντος ταῦτα ἡμᾶς μηδὲν τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς ἀδικήσειν ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς.' ὁ μὲν δὴ Τισσαφέρνης ἃ ὤμοσεν εὐθὺς ἐψεύσατο· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ

εἰρήνην ἔχειν στράτευμα πολὺ πρὸς ᾧ εἶχε μετ-επέμπετο παρὰ βασιλέως. Ἀγησίλαος δὲ καίπερ αἰσθανόμενος ταῦτα ὅμως ἐπ-έμενε ταῖς σπονδαῖς.

Retort of Agesilaus.

Ἔπειτα δὲ μέγα φρονήσας ὁ Τισσαφέρνης ἐπὶ τῷ κατα-βάντι στρατεύματι παρὰ βασιλέως προ-εῖπεν Ἀγησιλάῳ πόλεμον, εἰ μὴ ἀπ-ίοι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι μάλα ἐλυποῦντο νομίζοντες τὴν παρ-οῦσαν Ἀγησιλάῳ δύναμιν ἐλάττω εἶναι τῆς βασιλέως παρασκευῆς· Ἀγησίλαος δὲ μάλα φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀπ-αγγεῖλαι Τισσαφέρνει ὡς 'πολλὴν χάριν αὐτῷ ἔχοι, ὅτι ἐπιορκήσας αὐτὸς μὲν πολεμίους τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκτήσατο, τοῖς δ' Ἕλλησι συμμάχους ἐποίησεν.'

His Preparations.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπειδὴ ἔαρ ὑπ-έφαινε, συν-ήγαγε μὲν ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα εἰς Ἔφεσον· βουλόμενος δὲ ἀσκῆσαι αὐτὸ, ἆθλα προὔθηκε ταῖς τε ὁπλιτικαῖς τάξεσιν, ἥτις ἄριστα σωμάτων ἔχοι, καὶ ταῖς ἱππικαῖς, ἥτις κράτιστα ἱππεύοι· καὶ πελτασταῖς δὲ καὶ τοξόταις ἆθλα προὔθηκεν, ὅσοι κράτιστοι πρὸς τὰ προς-ήκοντα ἔργα φανεῖεν. ἐκ τούτου δὲ παρ-ῆν ὁρᾶν τὰ μὲν γυμνάσια πάντα μεστὰ ἀνδρῶν τῶν γυμναζομένων, τὸν δ' ἱπποδρόμον τῶν ἱππαζομένων, τοὺς δ' ἀκοντιστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας μελετῶντας. ἡγούμενος δὲ καὶ τὸ κατα-φρονεῖν τῶν πολεμίων ῥώμην τινὰ ἐμ-βάλλειν πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι, προ-εῖπε τοῖς κήρυξι γυμνοὺς πωλεῖν τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν λῃστῶν ἁλισκομένους βαρβάρους. ὁρῶντες οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται λευκοὺς μὲν διὰ τὸ μηδέποτε ἐκ-δύεσθαι, μαλακοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπόνους διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ ἐπ' ὀχημάτων εἶναι, ἐνόμισαν οὐδὲν δι-οίσειν τὸν πόλεμον ἢ εἰ γυναιξὶ δέοι μάχεσθαι.

Three Days' foraging near Sardis.

Μετὰ ταῦτα προ-εῖπε τοῖς στρατιώταις ὡς εὐθὺς ἡγήσοιτο ἐπὶ τὰ κράτιστα τῆς χώρας, ὅπως αὐτόθεν οὕτω τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν γνώμην παρα-σκευάζοιντο ὡς ἀγωνιούμενοι. ὁ μέντοι Τισσαφέρνης ταῦτα μὲν ἐνόμισε λέγειν 3 c
αὐτὸν πάλιν βουλόμενον ἐξ-απατῆσαι, εἰς Καρίαν δὲ νῦν τῷ ὄντι ἐμ-βαλεῖν, καὶ τό τε πεζὸν εἰς Καρίαν δι-εβίβασε καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν εἰς τὸ Μαιάνδρου πεδίον κατ-έστησεν. ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ προ-εῖπεν, εὐθὺς εἰς τὸν Σαρδιανὸν τόπον ἐν-έβαλε. καὶ τρεῖς μὲν ἡμέρας 3 15
πορευόμενος πολλὰ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ εἶχε, τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ ἦκον οἱ τῶν πολεμίων ἱππεῖς.

The Enemy are taken in detail.

Οὗτοι δὲ κατ-ιδόντες τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀκολούθους ἐσπαρμένους εἰς ἁρπαγὴν πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπ-έκτειναν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ἱππέας 320
βοηθεῖν. οἱ δ' αὖ Πέρσαι, ὡς εἶδον τὴν βοήθειαν, ἠθροίσθησαν καὶ ἀντι-παρ-ετάξαντο παμπληθέσι τῶν ἱππέων τάξεσιν. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος γιγνώσκων, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις οὔπω παρ-είη τὸ πεζὸν, αὐτῷ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπ-είη τῶν παρ-εσκευασμένων, καιρὸν ἡγήσατο μάχην συν-άψαι, εἰ δύναιτο. 325
εὐθὺς οὖν τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς παρα-τεταγμένους ἱππέας, τῶν δὲ ὁπλιτῶν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς νεωτάτους θεῖν ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς, τοῖς δὲ πελτασταῖς εἶπε δρόμῳ ὑφ-ηγεῖσθαι. παρ-ήγγειλε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐμ-βάλλειν, ὡς αὐτοῦ τε καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ἑπομένου. τοὺς 330
μὲν δὴ ἱππέας ἐδέξαντο οἱ Πέρσαι· ἐπεὶ δ' ἅμα πάντα τὰ δεινὰ παρ-ῆν, ἐν-έκλιναν, καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἔπεσον, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἔφευγον. οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ἐπ-

ακολουθοῦντες αἱροῦσι καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν. καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ χρήματα ἐλήφθη, ἃ εὗρε πλέον ἢ ἑβδομήκοντα τάλαντα, καὶ αἱ κάμηλοι δὲ τότε ἐλήφθησαν, ἃς Ἀγησίλαος εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπ-ήγαγεν.

Tithraustes beheads Tissaphernes, and requests Agesilaus to remove into the other Satrap's Province.

Ὅτε δ' αὖτη ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, Τισσαφέρνης ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἔτυχεν ὤν· ὥστε ἠτιῶντο οἱ Πέρσαι προ-δεδόσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Τιθραύστην κατα-πέμψας ἀπο-τέμνει τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Τισσαφέρνους. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ὁ Τιθραύστης πέμπει πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον πρέσβεις λέγοντας· 'Ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, ὁ μὲν αἴτιος τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμῖν ἔχει τὴν δίκην· βασιλεὺς δὲ ἀξιοῖ σὲ μὲν ἀπο-πλεῖν οἴκαδε, τὰς δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις αὐτονόμους οὔσας τὸν ἀρχαῖον δασμὸν αὐτῷ ἀπο-φέρειν. ἀπο-κριναμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποιήσειε ταῦτα ἄνευ τῶν οἴκοι τελῶν, 'Σὺ δ' ἀλλὰ, ἕως ἂν πύθῃ τὰ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, μετα-χώρησον,' ἔφη, 'εἰς τὴν Φαρναβάζου, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν σὸν ἐχθρὸν τετιμώρημαι.' 'Ἕως ἂν τοίνυν,' ἔφη ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, 'ἐκεῖσε πορεύωμαι, δίδου δὴ τῇ στρατιᾷ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.' ἐκείνῳ μὲν δὴ ὁ Τιθραύστης δίδωσι τριάκοντα τάλαντα· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν ᾔει ἐπὶ τὴν Φαρναβάζου Φρυγίαν.

Agesilaus and the Northern Satrap. A Conference.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφ-ίκετο εἰς τὴν Φρυγίαν, τὴν μὲν χώραν ἔκαιε καὶ ἐπόρθει, πόλεις δὲ τὰς μὲν βίᾳ τὰς δὲ ἑκούσας προς-ελάμβανεν. ἦν δέ τις, ὃς καὶ Φαρναβάζῳ ἐτύγχανεν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ξένος ὢν καὶ Ἀγησιλάῳ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν

χρόνον ἐξενώθη. οὗτος οὖν εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, ὡς οἴοιτο συν-αγαγεῖν αὐτῷ ἂν εἰς λόγους περὶ φιλίας Φαρνά- βαζον. οὗτος δὲ σπονδὰς λαβὼν παρ-ἦν ἄγων τὸν Φαρνάβαζον εἰς συγ-κείμενον χώριον, ἔνθα δὴ Ἀγησίλαος καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν χαμαὶ ἐν πόᾳ τινὶ κατα-κείμενοι ἀν-έμενον· ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἦκεν ἔχων στολὴν πολλοῦ χρυσοῦ ἀξίαν. ὑπο-τιθέντων δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν θεραπόντων ῥαπτὰ, ἐφ' ὧν καθ-ίζουσιν οἱ Πέρσαι μαλακῶς, ᾐσχύνθη ἐν-τρυφῆσαι ὁρῶν τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου τὴν φαυλότητα· κατ-εκλίθη οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ὥσπερ εἶχε χαμαί.

Speech of Pharnabazus. 'I helped Sparta to get the Supremacy of Greece—you use that Supremacy to crush me.'

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἦρξε τοῦ λόγου ὁ Φαρνάβαζος· καὶ γὰρ ἦν πρεσβύτερος· 'Ὦ Ἀγησίλαε καὶ πάντες οἱ παρ-όντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐγὼ ὑμῖν, ὅτε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπολεμεῖτε, φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος ἐγενόμην. καὶ γὰρ τὸ μὲν ναυτικὸν τὸ ὑμέτερον ἐποίουν ἰσχυρὸν χρήματα παρ-έχων, ἐν δὲ τῇ γῇ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου μαχόμενος μεθ' ὑμῶν κατ- εδίωκον τοὺς πολεμίους εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. καὶ διπλοῦν ὥσπερ Τισσαφέρνους οὐδὲν πώποτέ μου οὔτε ποιήσαντος οὔτ' εἰπόντος πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχοιτ' ἂν κατ-ηγορῆσαι. τοιοῦτος δὲ γενόμενος νῦν οὕτω διά-κειμαι ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ὡς οὐδὲ δεῖπνον ἔχω ἐν τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ χώρᾳ, εἰ μή τι ὧν ἂν ὑμεῖς λίπητε συλ-λέξομαι, ὥσπερ τὰ θηρία. ἃ δέ μοι ὁ πατὴρ καὶ οἰκήματα καλὰ καὶ παραδείσους δένδρων καὶ θηρίων μεστοὺς κατ-έλιπεν, ἐφ' οἷς εὐφραινόμην, ταῦτα πάντα ὁρῶ τὰ μὲν κατα-κεκομμένα τὰ δὲ κατα-κεκαυμένα. εἰ οὖν ἐγὼ μὴ γιγνώσκω μήτε τὰ ὅσια μήτε τὰ δίκαια, ὑμεῖς δὲ διδάξατέ με, ὅπως ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπιστα- μένων χάριτας ἀπο-διδόναι.'

Reply of Agesilaus. 'We are enemies to your Master, not to you.'

Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἶπεν. οἱ δὲ Σπαρτιᾶται πάντες μὲν ἐπ-ηισχύνθησαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐσιώπησαν· ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος χρόνῳ ποτὲ εἶπεν· 'Ἀλλ' οἶμαι μέν σε, ὦ Φαρνάβαζε, εἰδέναι, ὅτι καὶ ἐν ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς πόλεσι ἄνθρωποι γίγνονται ξένοι ἀλλήλοις. οὗτοι δέ, ὅταν αἱ πόλεις πολέμιαι γένωνται, σὺν ταῖς πατρίσι καὶ τοῖς ἐξενωμένοις πολεμοῦσι, καὶ ἐὰν οὕτω τύχωσιν, ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἀπ-έκτειναν ἀλλήλους. καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν νῦν βασιλεῖ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πολεμοῦντες πάντα ἠναγκάσμεθα τὰ ἐκείνου νομίζειν πολέμια· σοί γε μέντοι φίλοι γενέσθαι περὶ παντὸς ἂν ποιησαίμεθα.

'Leave your Master: be free, and we will be your friends.'

'Καὶ εἰ μὲν ἔδει σε ἀλλάξασθαι ἡμᾶς δεσπότας ἀντὶ βασιλέως δεσπότου, οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγέ σοι συν-εβούλευον· νῦν δὲ ἔξεστί σοι μεθ' ἡμῶν γενομένῳ μηδένα δεσπότην ἔχοντα ζῆν καρπούμενον τὰ σεαυτοῦ. καίτοι ἐλεύθερον εἶναι ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι ἀντάξιον εἶναι τῶν πάντων χρημάτων. οὐδὲ μέντοι τοῦτό σε κελεύομεν, πένητα μὲν ἐλεύθερον δ' εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν συμμάχοις χρώμενον αὔξειν μὴ τὴν βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ τὴν σαυτοῦ ἀρχήν, τοὺς νῦν ὁμοδούλους σοι κατα-στρεφόμενον, ὥστε σοὺς ὑπ-ηκόους εἶναι. καίτοι εἰ ἅμα ἐλεύθερός τ' εἶης καὶ πλούσιος γένοιο, τίνος ἂν δέοις μὴ οὐχὶ πάμπαν εὐδαίμων εἶναι;'

Pharnabazus gives his view of the Duties of Loyalty.

'Οὐκοῦν,' ἔφη ὁ Φαρνάβαζος, 'ἁπλῶς ὑμῖν ἀπο-κρίνωμαι ἅπερ ποιήσω;' 'Πρέπει γοῦν σοι.' 'Ἐγὼ τοίνυν,' ἔφη, 'ἐὰν βασιλεὺς ἄλλον μὲν στρατηγὸν πέμπῃ, ἐμὲ δὲ

ὑπήκοον ἐκείνου τάττῃ, βουλήσομαι ὑμῖν καὶ φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος εἶναι· ἐὰν μέντοι μοι τὴν ἀρχὴν προς-τάττῃ, πολεμήσω ὑμῖν ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι ἄριστα.' ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἐλάβετο τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν· 'Εἴθ', ὦ λῷστε σὺ, τοιοῦτος ὢν φίλος ἡμῖν γένοιο. ἐν δ' οὖν,' ἔφη, 'ἐπίστω, ὅτι νῦν τε ἄπειμι ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι τάχιστα ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῆς σῆς, τοῦ τε λοιποῦ, ἕως ἂν ἐπ' ἄλλον ἔχωμεν στρατεύεσθαι, σοῦ τε καὶ τῶν σῶν ἀφ-εξόμεθα.'

A piece of Greek Freemasonry.

Τούτων δὲ λεχθέντων δι-έλυσε τὴν σύνοδον. καὶ ὁ μὲν Φαρνάβαζος ἀνα-βὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀπ-ῆει, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, προς-δραμὼν 'Ξένον σε,' ἔφη, 'ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, ποιοῦμαι.' 'Ἐγὼ δέ γε δέχομαι.' 'Μέμνησό νυν,' ἔφη. καὶ εὐθὺς τὸ παλτὸν, εἶχε δὲ καλὸν, ἔδωκε τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ. ὁ δὲ δεξάμενος, φάλαρα περι-ελὼν ἀντ-έδωκεν αὐτῷ. τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ παῖς ἀνα-πηδήσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον μετ-εδίωκε τὸν πατέρα. ὡς δὲ φυγὰς ἐποιήθη ὁ υἱὸς, τά τε ἄλλα ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἐπ-εμελεῖτο αὐτοῦ, καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνον πάντ' ἐποίησεν ὅπως φίλος τις τοῦ παιδὸς ἐγ-κριθείη τὸ στάδιον ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, καίπερ ἐκτὸς τῆς ἡλικίας ὤν.

Agesilaus goes to Lydia and prepares for a grand Crusade against Persia.

Καὶ τότε δὴ, ὥσπερ εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Φαρνάβαζον, ὁ Ἀγησίλαος εὐθὺς ἀπ-επορεύετο ἐκ τῆς χώρας· σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ἔαρ ἤδη ὑπ-έφαινεν. ἀφ-ικόμενος δὲ εἰς Λυδίαν ἐκεῖ πρὸς ᾧ εἶχε συν-έλεγε πανταχόθεν παμπληθὲς στράτευμα. παρ-εσκευάζετο γὰρ πορευσόμενος ὡς δύναιτο ἀνωτάτω, νομίζων, ὁπόσα ὄπισθεν ποιήσαιτο ἔθνη, πάντα ἀπο-στήσειν βασιλέως.

SECTION IV.

THE

COALITION AGAINST SPARTA.

B.C. 394—385.

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THE COALITION AGAINST SPARTA.

B. C. 394—385.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

It is now ten years since the Peloponnesian War was ended by the fall of Athens. In that war Sparta had declared herself the champion of the independence of the Greek states against the aggressions of the 'despot-city' of Athens. On this ground she had forced her allies to share largely in the burden of the war; but when the victory was won, the real selfishness of her aims appeared, and it became clear that the fight had been not for the independence of the Greek states, but for the supremacy of Sparta. The recalcitrant cities were put under Spartan governors with oligarchical councils. The loyal cities were still expected to share in all the wars which were waged for the extension of the Spartan power. Thus not only was Athens indignant at being degraded to the position of a dependency of Sparta, but Thebes and Corinth were disgusted to find that they had been made the cat's-paw of a rival state. At last they refused to join in any further expeditions under her command; they were openly indifferent to her success and secretly hostile.

The only foe of Sparta in the field was Persia, but Persia was earnest in the cause; she had equipped a fleet and had secured the services of Conon the Athenian as her admiral, but her plans were for ever thwarted by the presence of Agesilaus, who was engaged in freeing the Greek cities from the Persian rule, thus securing to the Spartans the same supremacy in the Aegean which they already possessed in Greece itself. Her only chance of getting rid of this thorn in her side is to create a diversion in her favour; an envoy is despatched to Greece with gold to win a hearing, and the promise of foreign help fans the smouldering disaffection of the malcontents both in the Peloponnese and in Thebes.

The flame was kindled by a quarrel between Phocis and Locris. The Thebans supported Locris, so the Phocians appealed to Sparta. Sparta seized the opportunity of striking a blow at Thebes. Thebes applies to Athens. Athens, emboldened by assurances of support from Conon, joins hands with Thebes and revolts against Sparta. A plan for the united action of the two Spartan generals in Boeotia fails; one is killed and the other retreats. The prospects of the foes of Sparta look brighter; Argos and Corinth join the alliance, and the Boeotian dispute becomes an anti-Spartan war with its head-quarters at Corinth. Sparta is forced to recall Agesilaus from his career of conquest in Asia. On this, her foes there take more energetic measures; and the tidings of the battle of Cnidus, where the Spartan fleet under Pisander is defeated by the combined efforts of Pharnabazus and Conon, reaches Agesilaus as he is entering Boeotia. The army of the four anti-Spartan allies, Thebes, Athens, Corinth, and Argos bars his advance; so, before the news of Cnidus is fully known, he hastens on the battle of Coronea.

SECTION IV.

THE

COALITION AGAINST SPARTA.

B.C. 394—385.

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1. THE BATTLE OF CORONEA.

B.C. 394.

Persian gold foments dislike of Sparta in Greece.

Ὁ μέντοι Τιθραύστης, κατα-μαθὼν τὸν Ἀγησίλαον κατα-φρονοῦντα τῶν βασιλέως πραγμάτων καὶ οὐδαμῆ δια-νοούμενον ἀπ-ιέναι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐλπίδας ἔχοντα μεγάλας αἱρήσειν βασιλέα, πέμπει Τιμοκράτην τὸν Ῥόδιον εἰς Ἑλλάδα. δοὺς δὲ χρυσίον εἰς πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ἀργυρίου κελεύει διδόναι ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐφ' ᾧτε πόλεμον ἐξ-οίσειν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἐκεῖνος δ' ἐλθὼν δίδωσιν ἐν Θήβαις μὲν Ἰσμηνίᾳ τε καὶ ἄλλοις, ἐν Κορίνθῳ δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἄργει τοῖς προ-εστηκόσιν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ οὐ μετα-λαβόντες τούτου τοῦ χρυσίου ὅμως πρόθυμοι ἦσαν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον. οἱ μὲν δὴ δεξάμενοι τὰ χρήματα δι-έβαλλον τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους εἰς τὰς οἰκείας πόλεις· ἐπεὶ δὲ προ-ήγαγον ταύτας εἰς μῖσος αὐτῶν, συν-ίστασαν καὶ τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας.

War breaks out between Phocis and Locris. Thebes helps Locris, Phocis appeals to Sparta.

Ἀγησίλαος μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ Λυδίᾳ ἦν. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐμ-βαλόντες εἰς τὴν Λοκρίδα πολλαπλάσια χρήματα ἔλαβον. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἐβοήθουν τοῖς Λοκροῖς. ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ Φωκεῖς πέμπουσι πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα καὶ ἠξίουν βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς. οἱ μέντοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἄσμενοι ἔλαβον τὴν πρόφασιν στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, πάλαι ὀργιζόμενοι αὐτοῖς. ἐλογίζοντο δὲ καὶ καλὸν καιρὸν εἶναι τοῦ ἐξ-άγειν στράτευμα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ παῦσαι τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς ὕβρεως· τά τε γὰρ ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καλῶς σφίσιν ἔχειν κρατοῦντος Ἀγησιλάου καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι οὐδένα ἄλλον πόλεμον ἐμποδὼν σφίσιν εἶναι.

Coalition of Thebes, Athens, Corinth, and Argos. Recall of Agesilaus.

Οἱ μέντοι Κορίνθιοι καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἤδη δυσμενῶς εἶχον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις. νῦν δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν τοῖς Θηβαίοις. Θρασύβουλος δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐν-εδείκνυτο ὅτι καὶ ἀτειχίστου τοῦ Πειραιῶς ὄντος ὅμως παρα-κινδυνεύσοιεν ἀπο-δόντες αὐτοῖς χάριτας μείζονας ἢ ἔλαβον. 'ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ,' ἔφη, 'οὐ συν-εστρατεύετε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ἡμεῖς δέ γε μεθ' ὑμῶν μαχούμεθα ἐκείνοις ἐὰν ἴωσιν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς.' οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπεὶ σαφῶς ἤσθοντο τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις συν-εστηκυίας ἐπὶ πολέμῳ πρὸς ἑαυτούς, εὐθὺς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον πέμπουσιν ἄγγελον. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε, χαλεπῶς μὲν ἤνεγκεν ἐν-θυμούμενος οἷων ἐλπίδων ἀπο-στέροιτο, ὅμως δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι ἀναγκαῖον εἴη βοηθεῖν τῇ πατρίδι.

Agesilaus marches from Asia.

Ὁ οὖν Ἀγησίλαος σπεύδων ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐβοήθει τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις. καὶ δι-αλλάξας Μακεδονίαν εἰς Θετταλίαν ἀφ-ίκετο. οἱ δὲ Θετταλοὶ, σύμμαχοι ὄντες Βοιωτοῖς, ἐκακούργουν αὐτὸν ἐπ-ακολουθοῦντες. ὁ δὲ ἐν πλαισίῳ ἦγε τὸ στράτευμα, τοὺς ἱππέας ἔχων τοὺς μὲν ἔμπροσθεν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπ' οὐρᾷ· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπ-ήλαυνον οἱ Θετταλοὶ, παρα-πέμπει ἐπ' οὐρὰν καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἱππικόν. ὡς δὲ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο, οἱ Θετταλοὶ ἔφυγον. ἔνθεν δὲ διὰ φιλίας ἐπορεύετο μέχρι πρὸς τὰ Βοιωτῶν ὅρια.

The news of the Defeat at Cnidus reaches him.

Ἐμ-βάλλοντι δ' αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ὁ ἥλιος ἔδοξε μηνοειδὴς φανῆναι, καὶ ἠγγέλθη ὅτι ἡττημένοι εἶεν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ καὶ ὁ ναύαρχος Πείσανδρος τεθναίη. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ ᾧ τρόπῳ ἡ ναυμαχία ἐγένετο. περὶ Κνίδον γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπ-έπλευσαν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις· ἐτέτακτο δὲ Φαρνάβαζος μὲν σὺν ταῖς Φοινίσσαις Κόνων δὲ σὺν ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ αὖ Πείσανδρος ἀντι-παρ-ετάξατο· ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ νῆες τοῦ Πεισάνδρου ἐπι-πλέουσαι ἐφάνησαν πολὺ ἐλάττους τοῦ μετὰ Κόνωνος Ἑλληνικοῦ, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐωνύμου σύμμαχοι εὐθὺς ἔφευγον, αὐτὸς δὲ συμ-μίξας τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐξ-εώσθη πρὸς τὴν γῆν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι, ὅσοι εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐξ-εώσθησαν, ἀπο-λιπόντες τὰς ναῦς ἐσώζοντο ὅπῃ δύναιντο εἰς τὴν Κνίδον, ὁ δὲ Πείσανδρος ἐπὶ τῇ νηὶ μαχόμενος ἀπ-έθανεν.

He falsifies the news and declares a Victory.

Ὁ οὖν Ἀγησίλαος πυθόμενος ταῦτα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον χαλεπῶς ἤνεγκεν· ἔπειτα δὲ ἐν-εθυμήθη ὅτι οὐκ ἀνάγκη

εἴη κοινωνεῖν τῷ στρατεύματι, εἰ αὐτός τι χαλεπὸν ὁρᾴη. καὶ ἐκ τούτου μετα-βαλὼν τὰ ἠγγελμένα ἔλεγεν, ὡς ἀγγέλλοιτο ὁ μὲν Πείσανδρος τετελευτηκὼς, νικᾴη δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ. ὥστε ἀκροβολισμοῦ ὄντος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους οἱ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου ἐκράτησαν πειθόμενοι τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ, καὶ εὔθυμοι γενόμενοι, ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι νικῷεν δὴ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ.

The Armies meet at Coronea.

Ἦσαν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀντι-τεταγμένοι τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ Βοιωτοὶ, Ἀθηναῖοι, Ἀργεῖοι, Κορίνθιοι· σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν μόρα ἡ ἐκ Κορίνθου δια-βᾶσα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸ ξενικὸν, ἔτι δ' οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεων Ἑλληνίδων· αὐτόθεν δὲ προς-εγένοντο ὁπλῖται Ὀρχομένιοι. ἡ μὲν δὴ δύναμις αὕτη ἀμφοτέρων· δι-ηγήσομαι δὲ καὶ τὴν μάχην· καὶ γὰρ ἐγένετο οἵα οὐκ ἄλλη τῶν γ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν. συν-ήεσαν οὖν εἰς τὸ κατὰ Κορώνειαν πεδίον οἱ μὲν σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Κηφισοῦ, οἱ δὲ σὺν Θηβαίοις ἀπὸ Ἑλικῶνος. εἶχε δ' Ἀγησίλαος μὲν δεξιὸν τοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ, Ὀρχομένιοι δ' αὐτῷ ἔσχατοι ἦσαν τοῦ εὐωνύμου. οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι αὐτοὶ μὲν δεξιοὶ ἦσαν, Ἀργεῖοι δ' αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐώνυμον εἶχον.

Success of the Spartan Right and Centre.

Συν-ιόντων δὲ τέως μὲν σιγὴ πολλὴ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἦν. ἡνίκα δ' ἀπ-εῖχον ἀλλήλων ὅσον στάδιον, ἀλαλάξαντες οἱ Θηβαῖοι δρόμῳ ὁμόσε ἐφέροντο τοῖς Ὀρχομενίοις. ἔπειτα δὲ οἵ τε Κυρεῖοι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πόλεων Ἑλληνίδων ἀντ-εξ-έδραμον ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου τῆς φάλαγγος καὶ εἰς δόρυ ἀφ-ικόμενοι ἐτρέψαντο τὸ καθ' αὑτούς. Ἀργεῖοι μέντοι οὐκ ἐδέξαντο τοὺς περὶ Ἀγησίλαον, ἀλλ' ἔφυγον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλικῶνα.

The Thebans defeat the Left and then charge the Right.

Καὶ ἐνταῦθα οἱ μέν τινες τῶν ξένων ἐστεφάνουν ἤδη τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, ἀγγέλλει δέ τις αὐτῷ ὅτι οἱ Θηβαῖοι τοὺς Ὀρχομενίους δια-κόψαντες ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις εἵησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξ-ελίξας τὴν φάλαγγα ἦγεν ἐπ' αὐτούς· οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι ὡς εἶδον τοὺς συμμάχους πρὸς Ἑλικῶνι πεφευγότας, βουλόμενοι δια-πεσεῖν πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν, συσπειραθέντες ἐχώρουν ἐρρωμένως. ἐνταῦθα δὴ Ἀγησίλαον ἀνδρεῖον μὲν ἔξ-εστιν εἰπεῖν ἀναμφισβητήτως· οὐ μέντοι εἵλετό γε τὰ ἀσφαλέστατα. ἐξ-ὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ παρ-έντι τοὺς δια-πίπτοντας ἀκολουθοῦντι χειροῦσθαι τοὺς ὄπισθεν, οὐκ ἐποίησε τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἀντιμέτωπος συν-έρραξε τοῖς Θηβαίοις· καὶ συμ-βαλόντες τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐωθοῦντο, ἐμάχοντο, ἀπ-έκτεινον, ἀπ-έθνησκον. τέλος δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων οἱ μὲν δια-πίπτουσι πρὸς τὸν Ἑλικῶνα, πολλοὶ δὲ ἀπο-χωροῦντες ἀπ-έθανον.

The Piety of Agesilaus.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνίκα μὲν Ἀγησίλαος, τετρωμένος δ' αὐτὸς προς-ενήνεκτο πρὸς τὴν φάλαγγα, προς-ελάσαντές τινες τῶν ἱππέων λέγουσιν αὐτῷ ὅτι τῶν πολεμίων ὡς ὀγδοήκοντα σὺν ὅπλοις ὑπὸ τῷ νεῷ εἰσί, καὶ ἠρώτων τί χρὴ ποιεῖν. ὁ δὲ, καίπερ πολλὰ τραύματα ἔχων, ὅμως οὐκ ἐπ-ελάθετο τοῦ θείου, ἀλλ' ἐᾶν τ' ἀπ-ιέναι, ᾗ βούλοιντο, ἐκέλευε, καὶ ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἴα. τοτε μὲν οὖν, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἤδη ὀψὲ, δειπνο-ποιησάμενοι ἐκοιμήθησαν.

He claims a barren Victory and retreats.

Πρωὶ δὲ ἐκέλευε τὸν πολέμαρχον παρα-τάξαι τε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τρόπαιον ἵστασθαι, καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι πάντας τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοὺς αὐλητὰς πάντας αὐλεῖν. καὶ οἱ

μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποίουν. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἔπεμψαν κήρυκας, ὑπο-σπόνδους τοὺς νεκροὺς αἰτοῦντες θάψαι. καὶ οὕτω δὴ αἱ σπονδαὶ γίγνονται. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀφ-είθη μὲν κατὰ πόλεις τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα, ἀπ-έπλευσε δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἐπ' οἴκου.

2. INCIDENTS OF THE WAR.

B. C. 388.

Aeginetan Privateers. The Athenians retaliate.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ φανερῶς κατὰ θάλατταν ὁ πόλεμος ἐπολεμεῖτο οἱ Αἰγινῆται ληίζονται ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι πολιορκούμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν πέμψαντες εἰς Αἴγιναν καὶ ὁπλίτας καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Πάμφιλον ἐπ-ετείχισαν Αἰγινήταις καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν αὐτοὺς καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν δέκα τριήρεσιν. Τελευτίας μέντοι ἀκούσας ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ ἐπιτειχισμοῦ ἐβοήθει τοῖς Αἰγινήταις· καὶ τὸ μὲν ναυτικὸν ἀπ-ήλασε, τὸ δ' ἐπιτείχισμα δι-εφύλαττεν ὁ Πάμφιλος.

The Popularity of the Spartan Teleutias.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων Ἱέραξ ναύαρχος ἀφ-ικνεῖται. κἀκεῖνος μὲν παρα-λαμβάνει τὸ ναυτικὸν, ὁ δὲ Τελευτίας μακαριώτατα δὴ ἀπ-έπλευσεν οἴκαδε. ἡνίκα γὰρ ἐπὶ θάλατταν κατ-έβαινεν ἐπ' οἴκου ὁρμώμενος, οὐδεὶς ἦν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὃς οὐκ ἐδεξιώσατο, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐστεφάνωσεν, ὁ δὲ ἐταινίωσεν, οἱ δ' ὑστερήσαντες ὅμως καὶ ἀν-αγομένου ἔρριπτον εἰς τὴν θάλατταν στεφάνους καὶ εὔχοντο αὐτῷ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθά.

The Privateers again.

Ὁ δ' αὖ Ἱέραξ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ναῦς λαβὼν πάλιν ἔπλει εἰς Ῥόδον, ἓν Αἰγίνῃ δὲ τριήρεις δώδεκα κατ-έλιπε καὶ Γοργώπαν ἁρμοστήν. καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐπολιορκοῦντο μᾶλλον οἱ ἐν τῷ ἐπιτειχίσματι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἢ οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει· ὥστε Ἀθηναῖοι πληρώσαντες ναῦς πολλὰς ἀπ-εκομίσαντο ἐξ Αἰγίνης τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου. τούτων δὲ γενομένων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πάλιν αὖ πράγματα εἶχον ὑπό τε τῶν λῃστῶν καὶ τοῦ Γοργώπα· καὶ ἀντι-πληροῦσι ναῦς τρεις-καί-δεκα καὶ αἱροῦνται Εὔνομον ναύαρχον ἐπ' αὐτάς.

The Athenian Eunomus versus the Spartan Gorgopas.

Ἀνταλκίδας δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἀφ-ίκετο εἰς Αἴγιναν, συμ-παραλαβὼν τὰς τοῦ Γοργώπα ναῦς ἔπλευσεν εἰς Ἔφεσον· ἔνθεν δὲ τὸν Γοργώπαν πάλιν ἀπο-πέμπει εἰς Αἴγιναν σὺν ταῖς δώδεκα ναυσίν. οὗτος οὖν ἀπο-πλέων ἐξ Ἐφέσου περι-τυγχάνει Εὐνόμῳ· καὶ τότε μὲν κατ-έφυγεν εἰς Αἴγιναν μικρὸν πρὸ ἡλίου δυσμῶν· ἐκ-βιβάσας δ' εὐθὺς ἐδείπνιζε τοὺς στρατιώτας·

The successful Ruse of Gorgopas. The Night-pursuit and Surprise.

Ὁ δ' Εὔνομος ὀλίγον χρόνον ὑπο-μείνας ἀπ-έπλει· νυκτὸς δ' ἐπι-γενομένης, φῶς ἔχων, ὥσπερ νομίζεται, ἀφ-ηγεῖτο, ὅπως μὴ πλανῶνται αἱ ἑπόμεναι. ὁ δὲ Γοργώπας ἐμ-βιβάσας εὐθὺς ἐπ-ηκολούθει κατὰ τὸν λαμπτῆρα, ὑπο-λειπόμενος, ὅπως μὴ φανερὸς εἴη, τῶν κελευστῶν χρωμένων λίθων τε ψόφῳ ἀντὶ φωνῆς καὶ παραγωγῇ τῶν κωπῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν αἱ τοῦ Εὐνόμου πρὸς τῇ γῇ περὶ Ζωστῆρα τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐκέλευε τῇ σάλπιγγι ἐπι-πλεῖν. τῷ δὲ Εὐνόμῳ οἱ ναῦται ἐξ ἐνίων μὲν τῶν νεῶν ἅρτι

ἐξ-έβαινον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔτι ὡρμίζοντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔτι κατ-
ἔπλεον· ναυμαχίας δὲ πρὸς τὴν σελήνην γενομένης,
τέτταρας τριήρεις λαμβάνει ὁ Γοργώπας καὶ ἀνα-δησά-
μενος ᾤχετο ἄγων εἰς Αἴγιναν· αἱ δ' ἄλλαι νῆες αἱ τῶν
170 Ἀθηναίων εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατ-έφυγον.

The counter Ruse of Chabrias. The Ambuscade.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Χαβρίας ἐξ-έπλει, πελταστὰς ἔχων
ὀκτακοσίους καὶ δέκα τριήρεις. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τῆς νυκτὸς
ἀπο-βὰς εἰς τὴν Αἴγιναν ἐν κοίλῳ χωρίῳ ἐν-ήδρευσεν
ἔχων τοὺς πελταστάς. ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ὥσπερ συν-
175 έκειτο, ἦκον Ἀθήνηθεν ἄλλαι τε νῆες καὶ ὁπλῖται· οὗτοι δὲ
ἀπο-βάντες ἐπέκεινα τῶν προτέρων ἀν-έβαινον. ἀκούσας
δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Γοργώπας ἐβοήθει μετά τε τῶν Αἰγινητῶν καὶ
σὺν τοῖς τῶν νεῶν ἐπιβάταις καὶ ὀκτὼ Σπαρτιάταις οἳ
ἔτυχον αὐτόθι παρ-όντες. καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πληρωμάτων δὲ τῶν
180 ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἐκήρυξε βοηθεῖν ὅσοι ἐλεύθεροι εἶεν· ὥστ'
ἐβοήθουν καὶ τούτων πολλοί, ὅ τι ἐδύνατο ἕκαστος ὅπλον
ἔχων. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρ-ήλλαξαν οἱ πρῶτοι τὴν ἐνέδραν,
ἐξ-αν-ίστανται οἱ περὶ τὸν Χαβρίαν καὶ εὐθὺς ἠκόντιζον
καὶ ἔβαλλον. ἐπ-ῆεσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἀπο-
185 βεβηκότες ὁπλῖται. καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι, ἅτε οὐδενὸς
ἀθρόου ὄντος, ταχὺ ἀπ-έθανον, ὧν ἦν Γοργώπας τε καὶ οἱ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὗτοι ἔπεσον, ἐτράπησαν δὴ καὶ
οἱ ἄλλοι. καὶ ἀπ-έθανον Αἰγινητῶν μὲν ὡς πεντήκοντα
καὶ ἑκατὸν, ξένοι δὲ καὶ ναῦται κατα-δεδραμηκότες οὐκ
190 ἐλάττους διακοσίων. ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι,
ὥσπερ ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ἔπλεον τὴν θάλατταν· τοῖς γὰρ Λακε-
δαιμονίοις οὐκ ἤθελον οἱ ναῦται ἀνα-βαίνειν τὰς ναῦς
καίπερ ἀναγκάζοντος τοῦ ναυάρχου, ἐπεὶ μισθὸν οὐκ
ἐδίδου.

The popular Teleutias returns to his command. His Speech;—
'I have no money for you, but I'll soon get it.'

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Τελευτίαν αὖ ἐκ-πέμ- 195
πουσιν ἐπὶ ταύτας τὰς ναῦς ναύαρχον. ὡς δὲ εἶδον αὐτὸν
ἥκοντα οἱ ναῦται, ὑπερ-ήσθησαν. ὁ δ' αὐτοὺς συγ-καλέσας
εἶπε τοιάδε· "Ω ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, ἐγὼ χρήματα μὲν οὐκ
ἔχων ἥκω· ἐὰν μέντοι θεὸς ἐθέλῃ καὶ ὑμεῖς συμ-προθυ-
μῆσθε, πειράσομαι πορίζειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὑμῖν ὡς πλεῖστα. 200
εὖ δ' ἴστε, ἐγὼ ὅταν ὑμῶν ἄρχω, εὔχομαί τε οὐδὲν ἧττον
ζῆν ὑμᾶς ἢ καὶ ἐμαυτὸν, τά τ' ἐπιτήδεια ὑμᾶς μᾶλλον ἢ
ἐμὲ ἔχειν· ἐγὼ δὲ νὴ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ δεξαίμην ἂν αὐτὸς
μᾶλλον δύο ἡμέρας ἄσιτος ἢ ὑμᾶς μίαν γενέσθαι· ἥ γε
μὴν θύρα ἡ ἐμὴ ἀν-έῳκτο μὲν δήπου καὶ πρόσθεν εἰς-ιέναι 205
τῷ δεομένῳ τι ἐμοῦ, ἀν-εῴξεται δὲ καὶ νῦν. ὥστε ὅταν
ὑμεῖς πλήρη ἔχητε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, τότε καὶ ἐμὲ ὄψεσθε
ἀφθονώτερον διαιτώμενον· ἢν δὲ ὁρᾶτέ με ἀν-εχόμενον
καὶ ψύχη καὶ θάλπη καὶ ἀγρυπνίαν, οἴεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς ταῦτα
πάντα καρτερεῖν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ τούτων κελεύω ὑμᾶς 210
ποιεῖν, ἵνα ἀνιᾶσθε, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐκ τούτων ἀγαθόν τι λαμ-
βάνητε. καὶ ἡ πόλις δέ τοι," ἔφη, "ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται,
ἡ ἡμετέρα, ἣ δοκεῖ εὐδαίμων εἶναι, εὖ ἴστε ὅτι τἀγαθὰ
καὶ τὰ καλὰ ἐκτήσατο οὐ ῥᾳθυμοῦσα, ἀλλ' ἐθέλουσα καὶ
πονεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν, ὁπότε δέοι. καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν ἦτε 215
μὲν καὶ πρότερον, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶδα, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί· νῦν δὲ
πειρᾶσθαι χρὴ ἔτι ἀμείνους γίγνεσθαι, ἵν' ἡδέως μὲν
συμ-πονῶμεν, ἡδέως δὲ συν-ευδαιμονῶμεν. τί γὰρ ἥδιον
ἔσται ἢ μηδένα ἀνθρώπων κολακεύειν μήτε Ἕλληνα μήτε
βάρβαρον ἕνεκα μισθοῦ, ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῖς ἱκανοὺς εἶναι τὰ 220
ἐπιτήδεια πορίζεσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα ὅθενπερ κάλλιστον; ἡ
γάρ τοι ἐν πολέμῳ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀφθονία εὖ ἴστε

ὅτι ἅμα τροφήν τε καὶ εὔκλειαν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις παρ-έχεται.'

The bold Project of Teleutias.

'Ο μὲν ταῦτ' εἶπεν, οἱ δὲ πάντες ἀν-εβόησαν παραγγέλλειν ὅ τι ἂν δέῃ, ὡς σφῶν ὑπηρετησόντων. ὁ δὲ τεθυμένος ἐτύγχανεν· εἶπε δέ· "Αγετε, ὦ ἄνδρες, δειπνήσατε μέν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐμέλλετε· προ-παρά-σχεσθε δέ μοι μιᾶς ἡμέρας σῖτον. ἔπειτα δὲ ἥκετε ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς αὐτίκα μάλα, ὅπως πλεύσωμεν ἔνθα θεὸς ἐθέλει, ἐν καιρῷ ἀφιξόμενοι.' ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦλθον, ἐμ-βιβασάμενος αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἔπλει τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῶν 'Αθηναίων.

His Calculations.

Οὐδὲ ἀφρόνως ἔπλει δώδεκα τριήρεις ἔχων ἐπὶ πολλὰς ναῦς κεκτημένους. ἐνόμισε γὰρ τοὺς 'Αθηναίους ἀμελεῖς γενέσθαι περὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ λιμένι ναυτικὸν Γοργώπα ἀπολωλότος· εἰ δὲ καὶ εἶεν τριήρεις ὁρμοῦσαι, ἀσφαλεστερον ἡγήσατο πλεῦσαι ἐπ' εἴκοσι ναῦς 'Αθήνησιν οὔσας ἢ ἄλλοθι δέκα. ᾔδει γὰρ ὅτι ἕως μὲν αἱ νῆες ἔξω ἦσαν οἱ ναῦται ἔμελλον σκηνήσειν κατὰ ναῦν, ὁπότε δ' 'Αθήνησιν εἶεν ἐγίγνωσκεν ὅτι οἱ μὲν τριήραρχοι οἴκοι καθ-ευδήσοιεν, οἱ δὲ ναῦται ἄλλος ἄλλῃ σκηνήσοιεν.

The Enterprise.

Ἔπλει μὲν δὴ ταῦτα δια-νοηθείς· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπ-εῖχε πέντε ἢ ἓξ στάδια τοῦ λιμένος, ἡσυχίαν εἶχε καὶ ἀν-έπαυεν. ὡς δὲ ἡμέρα ὑπ-έφαινεν, ἡγεῖτο· οἱ δὲ ἐπ-ηκολούθουν. καὶ στρογγύλον μὲν πλοῖον κατα-δύειν οὐκ εἴα αὐτούς, εἴ δέ που τριήρη ἴδοιεν ὁρμοῦσαν, ταύτην πειρᾶσθαι ἄπλουν ποιεῖν, ἀνα-δουμένους δὲ τὰ φορτηγικὰ πλοῖα καὶ γέμοντα

ἄγειν ἔξω. ἦσαν δέ τινες οἳ καὶ ἐκ-πηδήσαντες εἰς τὸ Δεῖγμα συν-αρπάσαντες ἐμπόρους τέ τινας καὶ ναυκλήρους εἰς τὰς ναῦς εἰς-ήνεγκαν. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐπεποιήκει. τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων οἱ μὲν αἰσθόμενοι ἔνδοθεν ἔθεον ἔξω σκεψόμενοι, τίς ἡ κραυγὴ εἴη, οἱ δὲ ἔξωθεν οἴκαδε ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα, οἱ δὲ καὶ εἰς ἄστυ ἀγγελοῦντες. πάντες δ' Ἀθηναῖοι τότε ἐβοήθησαν καὶ ὁπλῖται καὶ ἱππεῖς, νομίζοντες τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἑαλωκέναι.

A bit of Buccaneering.

Ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν πλοῖα ἀπ-έστειλεν εἰς Αἴγιναν καὶ τῶν τριήρων τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας συν-απ-αγαγεῖν ἐκέλευσε· ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις παρα-πλέων παρὰ τὴν Ἀττικήν, ἅτε ἐκ τοῦ λιμένος πλέων, πολλὰ καὶ ἁλιευτικὰ ἔλαβε καὶ πορθμεῖα ἀνθρώπων μεστὰ κατα-πλέοντα ἀπὸ νήσων. ἐπὶ δὲ Σούνιον ἐλθὼν ἔλαβε καὶ ὁλκάδας γεμούσας τὰς μέν τινας σίτου, τὰς δὲ καὶ ἐμπολῆς. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ἀπ-έπλευσεν εἰς Αἴγιναν. καὶ ἀπο-δόμενος τὰ λάφυρα προ-έδωκε τοῖς στρατιώταις μηνὸς μισθόν. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ περι-πλέων ἐλάμβανεν ὅ τι ἐδύνατο. καὶ ταῦτα ποιῶν πλήρεις τε τὰς ναῦς ἔτρεφε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας εἶχεν ἡδέως καὶ ταχέως ὑπηρετοῦντας.

The Scene changes. Antalcidas at the Hellespont. His Manœuvres.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀνταλκίδας λαβὼν τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐξ Ἀβύδου ἀν-ήγετο νυκτὸς, αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐδίωκον αὐτόν. ὁ δ', ἐπεὶ ἐκεῖνοι παρ-έπλευσαν, ὑπο-στρέψας εἰς Ἄβυδον ἀφ-ίκετο. ἠκηκόει γὰρ ὅτι προς-πλέοιεν νῆές τινες τῶν πολεμίων. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ σκοποὶ ἐσήμηναν, ὅτι προς-πλέοιεν τριήρεις ὀκτὼ, ἐμ-βιβάσας

τοὺς ναύτας εἰς δώδεκα ναῦς τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας ἐν-
ήδρευεν ὡς ἐδύνατο ἀφανέστατα. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ τριήρεις
παρ-έπλεον, ἐδίωκεν· οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες ἔφευγον. αἱ οὖν
ἄριστα πλέουσαι ταχὺ κατ-ειλήφεσαν τὰς βραδύτατα
πλεούσας· παρ-αγγελας δὲ τοῖς πρωτό-πλοις τῶν μεθ'
αὑτοῦ μὴ ἐμ-βαλεῖν ταῖς ὑστάταις ἐδίωκε τὰς προ-εχού-
σας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτας ἔλαβεν, οἱ ὕστεροι, ἰδόντες τοὺς
πρό-πλους σφῶν αὐτῶν ἁλισκομένους, ὑπ' ἀθυμίας ἡλί-
σκοντο καὶ πρὸς τῶν βραδυτέρων· ὥσθ' ἥλωσαν ἅπασαι.

3. THE PEACE OF ANTALCIDAS.

B.C. 387.

After the victory of Cnidus, Conon and Pharnabazus had become absolute masters of the Aegean. The policy of Persia was then to restore Athens as a counterpoise to Sparta. Conon, supported alike by the purse and the fleet of Pharnabazus, seized the golden opportunity for rebuilding the Long Walls of Athens, while the position of the allied force at Corinth prevented the passage of the Spartans across the Isthmus. Argos, Corinth, and Athens were still closely allied and held their own against the common foe in the field. But when Sparta finds she fails in war, she turns her hand to diplomacy. The support of Persia had, indeed, been the mainstay of the allies; but could not the great King be detached from their cause? With this object she sends an envoy to Tiribazus the satrap, who readily falls in with her plans. The career of Conon is cut short by an arbitrary arrest, and the Persian fleet goes over to the Spartans. Finally, Antalcidas, the Spartan envoy, succeeded in concerting a peace with Tiribazus which would admirably serve the purposes of both; by it Persia was to regain her sway over the Asiatic Greeks, while Sparta, whose motto was 'Divide et impera,' would secure the dissolution of the other confederacies in Greece,—a policy of the basest selfishness, which she speciously veiled under the high-sounding name of securing 'the independence of the several Greek states, both small and great.'

Antalcidas the Spartan intrigues with Persia.

Ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας ναύαρχος ἐξ-επέμφθη ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὅτι ἐνόμιζον οὕτω μάλιστ' ἂν χαρίζεσθαι Τιριβάζῳ τῷ βασιλέως στρατηγῷ. ὁ γὰρ Ἀνταλκίδας καὶ πάλαι λάθρᾳ ἔπραττε πρὸς τὸν Τιριβάζον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθον αὐτῷ νῆες ἀπό τε τοῦ Τιριβάζου καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνους, (καὶ γὰρ ἦν ξένος ἐκ παλαιοῦ τῷ Ἀριοβαρζάνει), ὁ Ἀνταλκίδας ταῖς πάσαις ναυσὶ γενομέναις πλείοσιν ἢ ὀγδοήκοντα ἐκράτει τῆς θαλάττης· ὥστε ἐκώλυε τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ναῦς κατα-πλεῖν Ἀθήναζε, κατ-ῆγε δ' αὐτὰς εἰς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ συμμάχους.

Athens, Sparta, and Argos all wish for Peace.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁρῶντες πολλὰς τὰς πολεμίας ναῦς, φοβούμενοι δὲ μὴ ὡς πρότερον κατα-πολεμηθείησαν, βασιλέως γεγενημένου συμμάχου Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἰσχυρῶς ἐπ-εθύμουν τῆς εἰρήνης. οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, φυλάττοντες τὰς πόλεις, αἱ μὲν πισταὶ ἦσαν, μὴ ἀπ-όλοιντο, αἱ δὲ ἄπιστοι, μὴ ἀπο-σταῖεν, χαλεπῶς ἔφερον τὸν πόλεμον. οἵ γε μὴν Ἀργεῖοι, εἰδότες φρουρὰν πεφασμένην ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ μάλα εἰς τὴν εἰρήνην πρόθυμοι ἦσαν.

Persia dictates Peace to Greece.

Ὥστ', ἐπεὶ ὁ Τιρίβαζος παρ-ήγγειλε τοὺς βουλομένους ὑπ-ακοῦσαι τῇ εἰρήνῃ, ἣν βασιλεὺς κατα-πέμποι, πρὸς ἑαυτὸν συν-ελθεῖν, ταχέως πάντες παρ-εγένοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ συν-ῆλθον, ἐπι-δείξας ὁ Τιρίβαζος τὰ βασιλέως σημεῖα ἀν-εγίγνωσκε τὰ γεγραμμένα. εἶχε δὲ ὧδε. Ἀρταξέρξης βασιλεὺς νομίζει δίκαιον τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας Ἑλληνίδας

πόλεις καὶ μικρὰς καὶ μεγάλας αὐτονόμους ἀφ-εῖναι. ὁπότεροι δὲ ταύτην τὴν εἰρήνην μὴ δέχονται, τούτοις ἐγὼ πολεμήσω μετὰ τῶν ταῦτα βουλομένων καὶ πεζῇ καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ χρήμασιν.

Thebes tries to assert her Presidency over Boeotia.

Ἀκούοντες οὖν ταῦτα οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων πρέσβεις, ἀπ-ήγγελλον ἐπὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι πόλεις. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ὤμνυσαν ἐμπεδώσειν ταῦτα, οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἠξίουν ὑπὲρ πάντων Βοιωτῶν ὀμνύναι. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος οὐκ ἔφη δέξεσθαι τοὺς ὅρκους, ἐὰν μὴ ὀμνύωσιν, ὥσπερ τὰ βασιλέως γράμματα ἔλεγεν, αὐτονόμους εἶναι καὶ μικρὰν καὶ μεγάλην πόλιν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων πρέσβεις ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐκ ἐπ-εσταλμένα σφίσι ταῦτα εἴη. ‘Ἴτε νυν,’ ἔφη ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ‘καὶ ἐρωτᾶτε· ἀπ-αγγέλλετε δ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ ταῦτα, ὅτι εἰ μὴ ταῦτα ποιήσουσιν, ἔκ-σπονδοι ἔσονται.’ οἱ μὲν δὴ ᾤχοντο.

Thebes is forced to yield on account of the threatening attitude of Agesilaus.

Ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος διὰ τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους ἔχθραν οὐκ ἔμελλεν, ἀλλὰ πείσας τοὺς ἐφόρους εὐθὺς ἐπορεύετο εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν. πρὶν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁρμηθῆναι ἐκ Τεγέας, παρ-ῆσαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι λέγοντες ὅτι ἀφ-ιᾶσι τὰς πόλεις αὐτονόμους. καὶ οὕτω Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν οἴκαδε ἀπ-ῆλθον, Θηβαῖοι δ’ εἰς τὰς σπονδὰς εἰς-ελθεῖν ἠναγκάσθησαν, αὐτονόμους ἀφ-έντες τὰς Βοιωτίας πόλεις.

Argos is forced to relinquish her hold on Corinth.

Οἱ δ’ αὖ Κορίνθιοι οὐκ ἐξ-έπεμπον τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων φρουράν. ἀλλ’ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος καὶ τούτοις προ-εῖπε, τοῖς

μὲν, εἰ μὴ ἐκ-πέμψοιεν τοὺς Ἀργείους, τοῖς δὲ, εἰ μὴ ἀπ-λοιεν ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου, ὅτι πόλεμον ἐξ-οίσει ἐπ' αὐτούς. καὶ φοβηθέντων ἀμφοτέρων ἐξ-ῆλθον οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ αὐτὴ ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἡ τῶν Κορινθίων πόλις ἐγένετο.

A general Disarmament. Sparta enforces the Peace.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη καὶ ὠμωμόκεσαν αἱ πόλεις ἐμ-μενεῖν τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἣν κατ-έπεμψε βασιλεὺς, ἐκ τούτου δι-ελύθη μὲν τὰ πεζικὰ, δι-ελύθη δὲ καὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ στρατεύματα. Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν δὴ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις οὕτω εἰρήνη ἐγένετο. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολὺ ἐπικυδέστεροι ἐγένοντο ἐκ ταύτης τῆς εἰρήνης. προστάται γὰρ γενόμενοι τῆς ὑπὸ βασιλέως κατα-πεμφθείσης εἰρήνης τὴν αὐτονομίαν ταῖς πόλεσι ἔπραττον. καὶ οὕτω προς-έλαβον μὲν σύμμαχον Κόρινθον, αὐτονόμους δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Θηβαίων τὰς Βοιωτίδας πόλεις ἐποίησαν, οὗπερ πάλαι ἐπ-εθύμουν, ἔπαυσαν δὲ καὶ Ἀργείους Κόρινθον σφετεριζομένους.

4. THE DESTRUCTION OF MANTINEA.

B.C. 385.

Jealousy of Sparta against Mantinea.

Τούτων δὲ προ-κεχωρηκότων ὡς ἐβούλοντο, ἔδοξε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις κολάσαι τοὺς συμμάχους, οἳ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τοῖς πολεμίοις εὐμενέστεροι ἦσαν ἢ τῇ Λακεδαίμονι. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοὺς Μαντινέας ἐκέλευσαν τὸ τεῖχος περι-αιρεῖν, λέγοντες, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν πιστεύσειαν ἄλλως αὐτοῖς. αἰσθάνεσθαι γὰρ ἔφασαν καὶ ὡς σῖτον ἐξ-έπεμ-

πον τοῖς Ἀργείοις σφῶν αὐτοῖς πολεμούντων καὶ ὡς ἐνίοτε οὐδὲ συ-στρατεύοιεν, ὁπότε δὲ καὶ ἀκολουθοῖεν, ὡς κακῶς συ-στρατεύοιεν. ἔτι δὲ γιγνώσκειν ἔφασαν φθονοῦντας μὲν αὐτοὺς, εἴ τι σφίσιν ἀγαθὸν γίγνοιτο, ἐφ-ηδομένους δ', εἴ τις συμφορὰ προς-πίπτοι. ἐλέγοντο δὲ καὶ αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐξ-ελελυθέναι τοῖς Μαντινεῦσι τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει αἱ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Μαντινείᾳ μάχην τριακονταετεῖς γενόμεναι.

As the Mantineans refuse to demolish their own Walls, Sparta determines to do it for them.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἤθελον καθ-αιρεῖν τὰ τείχη φρουρὰν φαίνουσιν ἐπ' αὐτούς. Ἀγησίπολις δὲ ἐξ-ήγαγε τὴν φρουράν. ὡς δὲ ἐν-έβαλε, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν γῆν ἐδῄου· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Μαντινεῖς οὐδ' οὕτω καθ-ῆρουν τὰ τείχη, τάφρον ὤρυττε κύκλῳ περὶ τὴν πόλιν, τοῖς μὲν ἡμίσεσι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις προ-καθημένοις τῶν ταφρευόντων, τοῖς δ' ἡμίσεσιν ἐργαζομένοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξ-είργαστο ἡ τάφρος, ἀσφαλῶς ἤδη ᾠκοδόμησε τεῖχος κύκλῳ περὶ τὴν πόλιν.

The Spartans force Mantinea to surrender by Flooding it.

Αἰσθόμενος δὲ, ὅτι ὁ σῖτος ἐν τῇ πόλει πολὺς ἐν-είη, ἀπ-έχωσε τὸν διὰ τῆς πόλεως ῥέοντα ποταμὸν μάλ' ὄντα εὐμεγέθη. ἐμ-φραχθείσης δὲ τῆς ἀπορροίας τὸ ὕδωρ ᾖρετο ὑπέρ τε τῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει θεμελίων. βρεχομένων δὲ τῶν κάτω πλίνθων καὶ προ-διδουσῶν τὰς ἄνω, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐρρήγνυτο τὸ τεῖχος, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐκλίνετο. οἱ δὲ χρόνον μέν τινα ἀντ-ήρειδον ξύλα καὶ ἐμηχανῶντο, ὡς μὴ πίπτοι ὁ πύργος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡττῶντο τοῦ ὕδατος, δείσαντες, μὴ πεσόντος πῃ τοῦ τείχους δορι-άλωτοι γένοιντο, ὡμολόγουν περι-αιρήσειν.

The Terms of the Capitulation. The Mantineans are reduced to the condition of Villagers.

Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἔφασαν σπείσεσθαι, εἰ μὴ οἱ Μαντινεῖς καὶ δι-οικιοῦντο κατὰ κώμας. οἱ δ' αὖ νομίσαντες ἀνάγκην εἶναι συν-έφασαν καὶ ταῦτα ποιήσειν. σπονδῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις γενομένων οἱ τοῦ δήμου προστάται ἀπ-ηλλάττοντο ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἕστασαν ἀμφοτέρωθεν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἔχοντες τὰ ὅπλα, θεώμενοι τοὺς ἐξ-ιόντας. καὶ μισοῦντες αὐτοὺς ὅμως ἀπ-είχοντο αὐτῶν ῥᾷον ἢ οἱ βέλτιστοι τῶν Μαντινέων. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν εἰρήσθω μέγα τεκμήριον πειθαρχίας. ἐκ δὲ τούτου καθ-ῃρέθη μὲν τὸ τεῖχος, δι-ῳκίσθη δ' ἡ Μαντίνεια τετραχῇ, καθάπερ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ᾤκουν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἤχθοντο, ὅτι τὰς μὲν ὑπ-αρχούσας οἰκίας ἔδει καθ-αιρεῖν, ἄλλας δὲ οἰκοδομεῖν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀριστοκρατίᾳ ἐχρῶντο, ἀπ-ηλλαγμένοι δ' ἦσαν τῶν βαρέων δημαγωγῶν, ἥδοντο τοῖς πεπραγμένοις. συν-εστρατεύοντο δ' ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν πολὺ προθυμότερον ἢ ὅτε ἐδημοκρατοῦντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Μαντινείας οὕτω δι-επέπρακτο, σοφωτέρων γενομένων ταύτῃ γε τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ μὴ διὰ τειχῶν ποταμὸν ποιεῖσθαι.

SECTION V.

THE TRANSITION FROM SPARTAN GLORY TO SPARTAN DISGRACE.

B. C. 382—375.

SECTION V.

THE TRANSITION FROM SPARTAN GLORY TO SPARTAN DISGRACE.

B. C. 382—375.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

We have seen how soon the rule of the Spartans became unpopular in Greece; how, after dethroning Athens from her supremacy because as they said she made herself 'a despot city,' these liberators established throughout Greece Spartan governors and oligarchical councils, which formed, in fact, a separate despotism in every city. We saw in the second Section how the Athenians threw off this intolerable tyranny. In the fourth we saw how the other cities tried to do the same, and how Thebes came forward as the head of a coalition of malcontents and made a gallant stand at Coronea, and how, though Agesilaus had the best of it in the battle, he yet failed to crush the coalition.

In the same Section we saw how Sparta tried a subtler policy, and how, by abandoning the Asiatic Greeks to Persia, she persuaded Artaxerxes to dictate a peace to Greece, which, while in terms it only required that every town should be independent, and so sounded fair enough, was really a blow at the reviving empire of Athens, and at the supremacy of Thebes over the cities of Boeotia. By taking upon herself the office of carrying out the peace, she managed that every city should be isolated from its natural allies, and thus become an easy prey to her designs for self-aggrandisement.

But, even after this, Sparta found that the spirit of Thebes was only bowed, and not broken, and Agesilaus, who hated the very

name of Thebes, was always on the watch for an opportunity to crush her. Every Spartan general might know that no other service would be so acceptable to the ruling party at home as an advantage gained over their arch-enemy, Thebes. He might know too that he need not be scrupulous about means, as long as he attained this end. The use which Phoebidas made of this knowledge is told in the account of the **Seizure**[1] **of Thebes, B.C. 382.** Three hundred of the citizens, including Pelopidas and Melon, fled to Athens. The remainder were overawed by the occupation of their citadel, and were probably glad to pay any price to insure the safety of their wives and daughters, who in the midst of their festival gathering had become hostages in the hands of their foe. The sequel was just what might have been anticipated; the Theban-hating king shielded his subordinate, and Sparta retained the Cadmeia. The patriotic Theban, Ismenias, on the other hand, was put on his trial before three Spartan commissioners, and was condemned; nominally, for having intrigued with the Persian king, and for having been the prime mover of the wars which had lately disturbed the peace of Greece; really, for having been a patriotic supporter of the independence of Thebes.

When the head of the Boeotian league was crushed, the Spartans went briskly to work with the expedition against the one confederacy which was not yet dismembered. The ambition of Sparta was not to make Greece united and strong against foreign aggression, but to stand out herself as the only figure among ciphers. Her policy was selfish to the core. Greece was to her just a bundle of sticks; she knew that she must take them singly before she could break them. Hence she looked with jealousy even on the attempt of Olynthus to form a Greek confederacy in the remote promontories of Chalcidice. Such a confederacy would have formed an efficient barrier against the aggressions of Macedon, and by checking the rise of Philip might have saved the independence of Greece from the fate it was destined to meet on the field of Chaeronea[2]. To prevent the Greek cities from clubbing together, Sparta allied herself with the natural foes of Greece. She

[1] pp. 91–94.

[2] B.C. 338, when the united forces of Athens and Thebes were crushed by Philip and his son Alexander: after this the Boeotian league was again dissolved, and a foreign garrison again installed in the Cadmeia.

supported Persia against the Asiatic Greeks, and Macedon against the Olynthian confederacy. In less than four years Olynthus surrendered, and there was no city remaining in Greece that was not dependent upon Sparta. The glory of Sparta was at its height, but her greatness was undermined by a fundamental lack of principle, and we may even then mark the steps of the transition to her decline. Then it was that **The Retribution**[3] came, and came from the victim who had been most deeply injured.

'The government of Thebes was administered by a small faction consisting only of the two Polemarchs with Leontiades the ex-Polemarch and another, but it was backed by a garrison of 1500 Lacedaemonians in the Cadmeia, and by other garrisons in Thespiae and the other Boeotian cities round. Pelopidas was the most daring of the Theban exiles in Athens, and his self-devotion soon communicated itself to a handful of comrades. They felt assured of the sympathy of the citizens generally if they could once strike a blow. Yet nothing less would suffice than the destruction of the four rulers, nor would any one within the city devote himself to so hopeless an attempt. The plan appeared desperate to many who wished for its success. Epaminondas, the bosom friend of Pelopidas, refused to become an accomplice in a plot which he thought would only lead to terrible civil bloodshed. But when once the conspirators had volunteered, others were ready to risk their lives to aid them. The day for the enterprise was determined by Phyllidas, the secretary, who had prepared an evening banquet for the Polemarchs, in celebration of the period when they were going out of office. In concert with the general body of Theban exiles at Athens, who held themselves ready on the borders of Attica, Pelopidas and Melon and their five companions, crossed Cithaeron from Athens to Thebes. It was wet weather, about December, in the year 379; they were disguised as rustics or hunters, with no other arms than a concealed dagger; and they got within the gates of Thebes one by one at nightfall, just when the latest farming-men were coming home from their fields. All of them arrived safe at the house of Charon, the appointed rendezvous.

'It was, however, by mere accident that they had not been turned back, and the whole scheme frustrated. For a Theban named Hippo-sthenidas, friendly to the conspiracy but faint-hearted, who had been

[3] pp. 95–97.

let into the secret against the will of Phyllidas, became so frightened as the moment of execution approached, that he took upon himself, without the knowledge of the rest, to despatch Chlidon, a faithful slave of Melon, ordering him to go forth on horseback from Thebes, to meet his master on the road, and to desire that he and his comrades would go back to Attica, since circumstances had happened to render the project for the moment impracticable. Chlidon, going home to fetch his bridle, but not finding it in its usual place, asked his wife where it was. The woman, at first pretending to look for it, at last confessed that she had lent it to a neighbour. Chlidon became so irritated with this delay that he got into loud altercation with his wife, who on her part wished him ill luck with his journey. He at last beat her, until neighbours ran in to interfere. His departure was thus accidentally frustrated, so that the intended message of countermand never reached the conspirators on their way.

'In the house of Charon they remained concealed all the ensuing day, on the evening of which the banquet was to take place. Phyllidas had laid his plan for introducing them at the banquet when the two Polemarchs had become full of wine. The hour had nearly arrived, they were preparing to play their parts, when an unexpected messenger knocked at the door, summoning Charon instantly into the presence of the Polemarchs. All within were thunderstruck with the summons, which seemed to imply that the plot had been divulged, perhaps by the timid Hipposthenidas. It was agreed among them that Charon must obey at once. Nevertheless he himself, even in the perilous uncertainty which beset him, was most of all apprehensive lest the friends whom he had sheltered should suspect him of treachery towards themselves and their cause. Before departing therefore, he sent for his only son, a youth of fifteen, and of conspicuous promise in every way. This youth he placed in the hands of Pelopidas, as a hostage for his own fidelity. But Pelopidas and the rest, vehemently disclaiming all suspicion, entreated Charon to put his son away, out of the reach of that danger in which all were now involved. Charon, however, could not be prevailed on to comply, and left his son among them to share the fate of the rest. He went into the presence of the Polemarchs, whom he found already half-intoxicated, but informed by intelligence from Athens that some plot, they knew not by whom, was afloat. They had sent for him to question him, as a known friend of the exiles; but he had little difficulty, aided

by the collusion of Phyllidas, in blinding the vague suspicions of drunken men, anxious only to resume their conviviality. Nevertheless, soon after his departure—so many were the favourable chances which befel these improvident men—a fresh message was delivered to Archias the Polemarch, from his namesake Archias, the Athenian Hierophant, giving an exact account of the names and scheme of the conspirators, which had become known to the Philo-Laconian party at Athens. The messenger who bore this despatch delivered it to Archias with an intimation that it related to very serious matters. "Serious matters for to-morrow"[4] said the Polemarch, as he put the despatch, unopened and unread, under the pillow of the couch on which he was reclining. The text tells us how admirably the conspiracy succeeded.

'After the deed was done, Epaminondas was the first who appeared in arms to sustain the cause, while proclamation was everywhere made aloud, through heralds, that the despots were slain—that Thebes was free—and that all Thebans who valued freedom should muster in arms in the marketplace. There were at that moment in Thebes many trumpeters who had come to contend for the prize at an approaching festival. Hipposthenidas engaged these men to blow their trumpets in different parts of the city, and thus everywhere to excite the citizens to arms[5].'

Next follows **the Attempt of Sphodrias**[6], which is the sequel to the Retribution at Thebes. Sphodrias is represented in the text as having been bribed by Thebes to make the attempt on Piraeus, but it is much more likely that he was emulating the conduct of Phoebidas and trying to render an impromptu service to Sparta, at a time when Sparta was burning with indignation against Athens for having not only harboured the Theban exiles, but even aided and abetted them in their attempt. He had been left in command of a considerable force; he was aware that the Piraeus, the great harbour of Athens, was without gates or nightwatch on the land side; it seemed that a brilliant opportunity was open to him, and that by a night march he might master at one stroke the whole naval and commercial marine of Athens. He miscalculated the time it would take to march from Thespiae to Piraeus, so that when the morning broke he was still more than an hour's march from Athens,

[4] *εἰς αὔριον τὰ σπονδαῖα.*
[5] Abridged from Grote, x. cap. 67, pp. 110–120.
[6] p. 98.

and all hopes of a surprise were over. That hour saved the Piraeus; for though Sparta disavowed his expedition when it had failed, there is no reason to doubt that she would have dealt with Athens as she had dealt with Thebes, and have accepted his acquisitions if he had succeeded. The result of failure was so disastrous to Sparta and so acceptable to Thebes, that those who wrote after the event might be excused for thinking that Sphodrias must have been bribed by the enemies of Sparta.

The story of the acquittal of Sphodrias gives a picture of the administration of justice at Sparta. We see how the citizens were divided into two factions, and how both factions were influenced more by considerations of party feeling than by any care for equity. The adherents of King Cleombrotus, of whom Sphodrias was one, dreaded not the moral indignation of Sparta at the treachery of Sphodrias, but the antipathy of the rival party of Agesilaus.

SECTION V.

THE TRANSITION FROM SPARTAN GLORY TO SPARTAN DISGRACE.

B.C. 382—375.

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1. THE SEIZURE OF THEBES.

B.C. 382.

The Spartans send off a Force against Olynthus.

Πρέσβεις ἐξ Ἀκάνθου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίας, αἵπερ μέγισται τῶν περὶ Ὄλυνθον πόλεων εἰσὶν, ἀφ-ικόμενοι εἰς Λακεδαίμονα κατ-ηγόρουν τῶν Ὀλυνθίων. οἱ δ' Ἔφοροι ἀκούσαντες, ὧν ἕνεκα ἦκον, προς-ήγαγον αὐτοὺς πρός τε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους. καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ συν-ηγόρευον στρατιὰν ποιεῖν, καὶ ἔδοξεν ἀθροίζειν μεγάλην δύναμιν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ αὕτη ἡ παρασκευὴ ἠθροίζετο, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐκ-πέμπουσιν Εὐδαμίδαν ὡς τάχιστα, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τοσαύτην δύναμιν, ὅση ἐξ-έλθοι ἂν αὐτίκα. ὁ μέντοι Εὐδαμίδας ἐξ-ιὼν ἐδεήθη τῶν Ἐφόρων ἐκ-πέμπειν Φοιβίδαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν σὺν τοῖς ὑπο-λειπομένοις τῶν ἑαυτῷ προς-τεταγμένων. αὐτὸς δὲ ᾤχετο εἰς τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης χωρία.

Phoebidas follows with Reinforcements: he stops at Thebes and intrigues with Leontiades.

Ὁ δὲ Φοιβίδας, ἐπεὶ οἱ ὑπο-λειφθέντες ἠθροίσθησαν αὐτῷ, λαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἐπορεύετο. ὡς δ' ἐγένοντο ἐν Θήβαις, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἔξω τῆς πόλεως περὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον. τότε δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐστάσιαζον, καὶ Ἰσμηνίας τε καὶ Λεοντιάδης, διάφοροι ὄντες ἀλλήλοις, ἐτύγχανον πολε-μαρχοῦντες, ἑκάτερος ὢν ἀρχηγὸς τῶν ἑταιρειῶν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰσμηνίας διὰ τὸ μῖσος τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδὲ ἐπλησίαζε τῷ Φοιβίδᾳ· ὁ μέντοι Λεοντιάδης ἄλλως τε ἐθεράπευεν αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐπεὶ εἰς-ῳκειώθη, ἔλεγε τάδε· 'ἔξ-εστί σοι, ὦ Φοιβίδα, τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὑπουργῆσαι μέγιστα ἀγαθὰ τῇ σεαυτοῦ πατρίδι· ἐὰν γὰρ ἀκολουθήσῃς ἐμοὶ σὺν τοῖς ὁπλίταις, ἐγὼ εἰς-άξω σε εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. τούτου δὲ γενομένου, αἱ Θῆβαι ἔσονται παντάπασιν ὑπὸ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς ὑμετέροις φίλοις. καίτοι νῦν μὲν, ὡς ὁρᾷς, ἀπο-κεκήρυκται, μηδένα Θηβαίων στρατεύειν μετὰ σοῦ ἐπ' Ὀλυνθίους· ἐὰν δέ γε σὺ πράξῃς ταῦτα μεθ' ἡμῶν, εὐθὺς ἡμεῖς συμ-πέμψομέν σοι πολλοὺς μὲν ὁπλίτας πολλοὺς δὲ ἱππέας· ὥστε βοηθήσεις τῷ ἀδελφῷ πολλῇ δυνάμει, καὶ ἐν ᾧ ἐκεῖνος μέλλει κατα-στρέφεσθαι Ὄλυνθον, σὺ κατ-εστραμμένος ἕσει Θήβας, πόλιν πολὺ μείζω Ὀλύνθου.' ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ἥσθη ὁ Φοιβίδας. καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἐραστὴς τοῦ λαμπρόν τι ποιῆσαι πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ζῆν, οὐ μέντοι ἐδόκει εἶναι λογιστικός γε οὐδὲ πάνυ φρόνιμος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Φοιβίδας ὡμολόγησε ταῦτα, ὁ Λεοντιάδης ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν προ-ορμῆσαι, ὥσπερ συν-εσκευασμένος ἦν εἰς τὸ ἀπ-ιέναι· 'ἡνίκα δ' ἂν ᾖ καιρὸς, ἐγὼ ἥξω πρὸς σὲ,' ἔφη ὁ Λεοντιάδης, 'καὶ αὐτὸς ἡγήσομαί σοι.'

Success of the Plot.

Καὶ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον προς-ελάσας ἐφ' ἵππου ὁ Λεοντιάδης ἀπο-στρέφει τὸν Φοιβίδαν καὶ ἡγεῖται εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. καὶ γὰρ μεσημβρία ἦν καὶ θέρους ὄντος αἱ ὁδοὶ πάνυ ἔρημαι ἦσαν· ἡ δὲ βουλὴ ἐκάθητο ἐν τῇ ἐν ἀγορᾷ στοᾷ, ὅτι αἱ γυναῖκες ἐθεσμοφορίαζον ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ. κατα-στήσας δ' ἐκεῖ τὸν Φοιβίδαν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ παρα-δοὺς αὐτῷ τὴν βαλανάγραν τῶν πυλῶν, καὶ εἰπὼν, παρ-ιέναι μηδένα εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ὅντινα μὴ αὐτὸς κελεύοι, εὐθὺς ἐπορεύετο πρὸς τὴν βουλήν. ἐλθὼν δὲ εἶπε τάδε· 'μηδὲν ἀθυμεῖτε, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατ-έχουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· αὐτοὶ γάρ φασιν ἥκειν πολέμιοι οὐδενὶ, ὅστις μὴ ἐρᾷ πολέμου· ἐγὼ δὲ, τοῦ νόμου κελεύοντος ἐξ-εῖναι πολεμάρχῳ λαβεῖν, εἴ τις δοκεῖ ποιεῖν ἄξια θανάτου, λαμβάνω τουτονὶ Ἰσμηνίαν, ὡς πολεμοποιοῦντα. καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ, οἱ λοχαγοί τε καὶ οἱ μετὰ τούτων τεταγμένοι, ἀν-ίστασθε, καὶ λαβόντες ἀπ-άγετε τοῦτον, ἔνθα εἴρηται.' οἱ μὲν δὴ εἰδότες τὸ πρᾶγμα, παρ-ῆσάν τε καὶ ἐπείθοντο καὶ συν-ελάμβανον· τῶν δὲ μὴ εἰδότων ἐναντίων δὲ ὄντων τοῖς περὶ Λεοντιάδην, οἱ μὲν ἔφυγον εὐθὺς ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, δείσαντες μὴ ἀπο-θάνοιεν, οἱ δὲ ἀπ-εχώρησαν οἴκαδε πρῶτον, ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾔσθοντο τὸν Ἰσμηνίαν εἰργμένον ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ, τότε δὴ οἱ ταὐτὰ γιγνώσκοντες Ἰσμηνίᾳ, μάλιστα τριακόσιοι, ἀπ-εχώρησαν εἰς Ἀθήνας.

The Tempter at Sparta.

Ὡς δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπέπρακτο, εἵλοντο ἄλλον πολέμαρχον ἀντὶ Ἰσμηνίου, ὁ δὲ Λεοντιάδης εὐθὺς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐπορεύετο. εὗρε δ' ἐκεῖ τοὺς μὲν Ἐφόρους χαλεπῶς ἔχοντας τῷ Φοιβίδᾳ, ὅτι ἐπεπράχει ταῦτα οὐ προς-

ταχθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως· ὁ μέντοι Ἀγησίλαος ἔλεγεν, ὅτι, εἰ μὲν πεπραχὼς εἴη βλαβερὰ τῇ Λακεδαίμονι, δίκαιος εἴη ζημιοῦσθαι· εἰ δὲ ἀγαθὰ, ἀρχαῖον εἶναι νόμιμον, ἐξεῖναι αὐτοσχεδιάζειν τὰ τοιαῦτα. 'προσ-ήκει οὖν,' ἔφη, 'σκοπεῖν αὐτὸ τοῦτο, πότερον τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐστὶν ἀγαθὰ ἢ κακά.' ἔπειτα μέντοι ὁ Λεοντιάδης, ἐλθὼν εἰς τοὺς ἐκκλήτους, ἔλεγε τοιάδε, 'ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἐλέγετε ὡς πολεμικῶς ὑμῖν εἶχον οἱ Θηβαῖοι, πρὶν τὰ νῦν πεπραγμένα γενέσθαι· ἑορᾶτε γὰρ ἀεὶ τούτους τοῖς μὲν ὑμετέροις δυσμενέσι φιλικῶς ἔχοντας, τοῖς δ' ὑμετέροις φίλοις ἐχθροὺς ὄντας. καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἠθέλησαν συ-στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν Πειραιεῖ δῆμον, πολεμιώτατον ὄντα ὑμῖν, Φωκεῦσι δὲ ἐπ-εστράτευον, ὅτι ἑώρων ὑμᾶς ὄντας εὐμενεῖς αὐτοῖς· ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐποιοῦντο πρὸς Ὀλυνθίους, εἰδότες ὑμᾶς ἐκ-φέροντας πόλεμον· καὶ ὑμεῖς γε τότε μὲν ἀεὶ προσ-είχετε τὸν νοῦν αὐτοῖς, φοβούμενοι μὴ βιάζοιντο τὴν Βοιωτίαν ὑφ' αὑτοῖς εἶναι· νῦν δ', ἐπεὶ τάδε πέπρακται, οὐδὲν δεῖ ὑμᾶς φοβεῖσθαι Θηβαίους· ἀλλὰ μικρὰ σκυτάλη ἀρκέσει ὑμῖν, ὥστε πάντα, ὅσων ἂν δέησθε, ἐκεῖθεν ὑπηρετεῖσθαι, ἐὰν, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ἐπι-μελούμεθα ὑμῶν, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπι-μελῆσθε ἡμῶν.'

Might versus Right.

Ἔδοξεν οὖν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀκούουσι ταῦτα φυλάττειν τε τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὥσπερ κατ-είληπτο, καὶ ποιῆσαι κρίσιν Ἰσμηνίᾳ. καὶ ἐκεῖνος μὲν κατ-εψηφίσθη καὶ ἀπο-θνήσκει· οἱ δὲ περὶ Λεοντιάδην εἶχόν τε τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ὑπηρέτουν ἔτι πλείω τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἢ προσ-ετάττετο αὐτοῖς. τούτων δὲ πεπραγμένων, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι συν-απ-έστελλον τὴν εἰς τὴν Ὄλυνθον στρατιὰν πολὺ δὴ προθυμότερον.

2. THE RETRIBUTION.

B. C. 379.

Poetical Justice.

Οὕτω μὲν δὴ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Βοιωτοὶ ἦσαν παντάπασιν ὑπὸ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πράγματα οὕτω πο-εκεχωρήκει αὐτοῖς ὥστε Κορίνθιοι μὲν πιστότατοι ἐγεγένηντο, Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ἐτεταπείνωντο, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἠρήμωντο φίλων· τῶν δ' αὖ συμμάχων, οἳ δυσμενῶς εἶχον αὐτοῖς, οἵ τε ἄλλοι καὶ οἱ Φλιάσιοι, κεκολασμένοι ἦσαν. καὶ δὴ καὶ παντάπασιν ἤδη καλῶς καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς κατ-εσκευάσθαι. ἀλλὰ θεοὶ οὔτε τῶν ἀσεβούντων οὔτε τῶν ἀνόσια ποιούντων ἀμελοῦσι· Λακεδαιμόνιοι γὰρ, οἱ ὁμόσαντες αὐτονόμους ἐάσειν τὰς πόλεις, ἀκρόπολιν κατα-σχόντες τὴν ἐν Θήβαις ἐκολάσθησαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἀδικηθέντων, πρότερον οὐδ' ὑφ' ἑνὸς τῶν πώποτε ἀνθρώπων κρατηθέντες· καὶ γὰρ ἕπτα μόνον τῶν φυγόντων ἤρκεσαν κατα-λῦσαι τὴν ἀρχὴν τούτων τῶν πολιτῶν, οἳ εἰς-ήγαγον εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐβουλήθησαν τὴν πόλιν δουλεύειν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὥστε αὐτοὶ τυραννεῖν. ὡς δὲ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο, δι-ηγήσομαι.

The Counterplot. Phyllidas and Melon elude the warders and get safely into Thebes.

Φυλλίδας τις, ὃς ἐγραμμάτευε τοῖς πολεμάρχοις καὶ τἄλλα ὑπηρετήκει (ὡς ἐδόκει) ἄριστα, ἀφ-ίκετο Ἀθήναζε κατὰ πρᾶξίν τινα. Μέλων δέ τις τῶν Ἀθήναζε πεφευγότων Θηβαίων τούτῳ καὶ πρόσθεν γνώριμος ὢν συγ-γίγνεται, καὶ δια-πυθόμενος μὲν τὴν τῶν πολεμαρχούντων τυραννίδα, γνοὺς δὲ αὐτὸν μισοῦντα τὰ οἴκοι ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ, πιστὰ

δοὺς καὶ λαβὼν συν-έθετο ὡς δεῖ ἕκαστα γίγνεσθαι. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ὁ Μέλων, προς-λαβὼν ἓξ τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους τῶν φευγόντων ξιφίδια ἔχοντας καὶ ἄλλο ὅπλον οὐδέν, ἔρχεται πρῶτον μὲν εἰς τὴν χώραν νυκτός· ἔπειτα δὲ, ἡμερεύσαντες ἔν τινι τόπῳ ἐρήμῳ, πρὸς τὰς πύλας ἦλθον, ὡς δὴ ἀπ-ιόντες ἐξ ἀγροῦ, ἡνίκα οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ὀψιαίτατοι ἀπ-ήεσαν. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς-ἦλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, δι-ενυκτέρευσαν μὲν ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα παρὰ Χάρωνί τινι, καὶ τὴν ἐπ-ιοῦσαν δ' ἡμέραν δι-ημέρευσαν.

The Fatal Carousal. The Veiled Ladies.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Φυλλίδας τά τε ἄλλα ἐπ-εμελεῖτο τοῖς πολεμάρχοις, καὶ δὴ καὶ γυναῖκας πάλαι ὑπ-ισχνούμενος ἄξειν αὐτοῖς τὰς σεμνοτάτας καὶ καλλίστας τῶν ἐν Θήβαις, τότ' ἔφη ἄξειν. οἱ δὲ, ἦσαν γὰρ τοιοῦτοι, μάλα ἡδέως προς-εδέχοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδείπνησάν τε καὶ συμ-προθυμουμένου ἐκείνου ταχὺ ἐμεθύσθησαν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκελεύον ἄγειν τὰς γυναῖκας, ἐξ-ελθὼν ἦγαγε τοὺς περὶ Μέλωνα, στείλας τρεῖς μὲν ὡς δεσποίνας, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ὡς θεραπαίνας. κἀκείνους μὲν εἰς-ήγαγεν εἰς τὸ ταμιεῖον τῶν πολεμάρχων, αὐτὸς δ' εἰς-ελθὼν εἶπεν ὅτι αἱ γυναῖκες οὔ φασιν εἰς-ελθεῖν ἂν, εἴ τις τῶν διακόνων ἔνδον ἔσοιτο. ἔνθεν οἱ μὲν ταχὺ ἐκέλευον πάντας ἐξ-ιέναι, ὁ δὲ Φυλλίδας δοὺς οἶνον ἐξ-έπεμψεν αὐτοὺς εἰς ἑνὸς τῶν διακόνων. ἐκ δὲ τούτου εἰς-ήγαγε τὰς γυναῖκας δὴ, καὶ ἐκάθιζε παρ' ἑκάστῳ· ἦν γὰρ σύνθημα, ἐπεὶ καθ-ίζοιντο, παίειν εὐθὺς ἀνα-καλυψαμένους. οἱ μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἀπ-έθανον.

The Archtraitor killed by Treachery.

Λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Φυλλίδας τρεῖς τῶν ἀμφὶ Μέλωνα ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Λεοντιάδου οἰκίαν· κόψας δὲ τὴν

θύραν εἶπεν ὅτι παρὰ τῶν πολεμάρχων ἀπ-αγγεῖλαί τι βούλοιτο. ὁ δὲ ἐτύγχανε μὲν κατα-κείμενος ἔτι μετὰ δεῖπνον, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐριουργοῦσα παρ-εκάθητο· πιστὸν δὲ εἶναι νομίζων τὸν Φυλλίδαν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς-ιέναι. οἱ δ', ἐπεὶ εἰς-ῆλθον, τὸν μὲν ἀπο-κτείναντες, τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα φοβήσαντες κατ-εσιώπησαν. ἐξ-ιόντες δὲ εἶπον τὴν θύραν κεκλεῖσθαι· εἰ δὲ λήψοιντο ἀν-εῳγμένην, ἠπείλησαν ἀποκτεῖναι ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ.

The Tables are turned.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπέπρακτο, ὁ Φυλλίδας λαβὼν δύο τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἦλθε πρὸς τὸ δεσμωτήριον καὶ εἶπε τῷ εἰργμοφύλακι ὅτι ἄνδρα ἄγοι παρὰ πολεμάρχων ὃν εἶρξαι δέοι. ὡς δὲ ἀν-έῳξε, τοῦτον μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπ-έκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ δεσμώτας ἔλυσαν. καὶ τούτους μὲν ταχὺ ὥπλισαν καθελόντες τὰ ἐκ τῆς στοᾶς ὅπλα, καὶ ἀγαγόντες αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀμφεῖον ἐκέλευον θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα. ἐκ δὲ τούτου εὐθὺς ἐκήρυττον πάντας Θηβαίους, ἱππέας τε καὶ ὁπλίτας, βοηθεῖν ὡς τῶν τυράννων τεθνεώτων. ὡς δὲ οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἔγνωσαν ὀλίγοι ὄντες, ἑώρων τε τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν προς-ιόντων ἁπάντων καὶ ἤκουσαν τὰ κηρύγματα μεγάλα γιγνόμενα τοῖς πρώτοις ἀνα-βᾶσιν, ἐκ τούτων φοβηθέντες εἶπον ὅτι ἀπ-οίοιεν ἂν, εἰ διδοῖεν ἀσφάλειαν σφίσι μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἀπ-ιοῦσι. οἱ δὲ ἄσμενοί τε ἔδοσαν ἃ ᾔτουν, καὶ σπεισάμενοι καὶ ὅρκους ὀμόσαντες ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐξ-έπεμπον. ὅσους μέντοι ἐπέγνωσαν ἐχθροὺς ὄντας συλ-λαμβάνοντες ἐξ-ιόντας ἀπ-έκτειναν, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἀπο-θανόντων, ὅσοις ἦσαν, λαβόντες ἀπ-έσφαξαν.

3. THE ATTEMPT ON THE PIRAEUS.

B. C. 378.

The treacherous Attempt of Sphodrias to surprise the Piraeus.

Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι φοβούμενοι, εἰ μηδένες ἄλλοι ἢ αὐτοὶ πολεμήσοιεν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, τοιόνδε εὑρίσκουσι μηχάνημα. πείθουσι τὸν ἐν ταῖς Θεσπιαῖς ἁρμοστὴν Σφοδρίαν, χρήματα δόντες (ὡς ὑπ-ωπτεύετο), ἐμ-βαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἵν' ἐκ-πολεμήσειε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. κἀκεῖνος πειθόμενος αὐτοῖς, προσποιησάμενος κατα-λήψεσθαι τὸν Πειραιᾶ, ὅτι δὴ ἀπύλωτος ἦν, ἦγεν ἐκ τῶν Θεσπιῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας πρωὶ δειπνήσαντας, φάσκων πρὸ ἡμέρας κατ-αυσειν τὴν ὁδὸν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ. ἡμέρα δ' ἔφθη ἐπι-γενομένη αὐτῷ, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐντεῦθεν ἐποίησεν ὥστε λαθεῖν, ἀλλ', ἐπεὶ ἀπ-ετράπετο, βοσκήματα δι-ήρπασε καὶ οἰκίας ἐπόρθησε. τῶν δὲ ἐν-τυχόντων τινὲς τῆς νυκτὸς φεύγοντες εἰς τὸ ἄστυ ἀπ-ήγγελλον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὅτι στράτευμα πάμπολυ προς-ἴοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταχὺ ὁπλισάμενοι ἦσαν ἐν φυλακῇ τῆς πόλεως·

The Spartan envoys at Athens disclaim all Connivance with Sphodrias.

Τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ πρέσβεις Ἀθήνησιν ἐτύγχανον ὄντες παρὰ τῷ προξένῳ· οὓς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπεὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἠγγέλθη, συλ-λαβόντες ἐφύλαττον, ὡς καὶ τούτους συν-επι-βουλεύοντας. οἱ δὲ ἐκ-πεπληγμένοι τε ἦσαν τῷ πράγματι καὶ ἀπ-ελογοῦντο ὡς, εἰ ᾔδεσαν κατα-λαμβα-

νόμενον τὸν Πειραιᾶ, οὐκ ἄν ποτε οὕτω μωροὶ ἦσαν ὥστε παρ-εῖχον ἂν αὐτοὺς ὑποχειρίους ἐν τῷ ἄστει, καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ τῷ προξένῳ, οὗ τάχιστ' ἂν εὑρέθησαν. ἔτι δ' ἔλεγον ὡς εὔδηλον ἔσοιτο καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὅτι οὐδ' ἡ πόλις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ταῦτα συν-ῄδει. εὖ γὰρ εἰδέναι ἔφασαν ὅτι πεύσοιντο Σφοδρίαν ἀπ-ολωλότα ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως. κἀκεῖνοι μὲν κριθέντες ἀφ-είθησαν.

But at Sparta Expedience triumphs over Justice.

Οἱ δ' ἔφοροι ἀν-εκάλεσάν τε τὸν Σφοδρίαν καὶ ὑπ-ῆγον θανάτου. ἐκεῖνος μέντοι φοβούμενος οὐχ ὑπ-ήκουσεν· ὅμως δὲ, καίπερ οὐχ ὑπ-ακούων εἰς τὴν κρίσιν, ἀπ-έφυγε. καὶ πολλοῖς ἔδοξεν αὕτη δὴ ἡ δίκη ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἀδικώτατα κριθῆναι. ἐγένετο δὲ τόδε τὸ αἴτιον.

The Attachment of Cleonymus, the son of Sphodrias, to Archidamus, the king's son.

Ἦν υἱὸς τῷ Σφοδρίᾳ Κλεώνυμος ὄνομα, κάλλιστός τε καὶ εὐδοκιμώτατος τῶν ἡλίκων. τούτῳ δὲ φίλτατος ὢν ἐτύγχανεν Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ἀγησιλάου. οἱ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Κλεομβρότου φίλοι, ἑταῖροι ὄντες τῷ Σφοδρίᾳ, ἐπροθυμοῦντο ἀπο-λύειν αὐτὸν, τὸν δὲ Ἀγησίλαον καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου φίλους ἐφοβοῦντο· δεινὰ γὰρ ἐδόκει πεποιηκέναι. ἐκ τούτου δὴ ὁ μὲν Σφοδρίας εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Κλεώνυμον, 'Ἔξεστί σοι, ὦ υἱὲ, σῶσαι τὸν πατέρα, ἐὰν δεηθῇς Ἀρχιδάμου παρα-σχεῖν Ἀγησίλαον εὐμενῆ ἐμοὶ εἰς τὴν κρίσιν.' ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἐτόλμησεν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον, καὶ ἐδεῖτο, αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι σωτῆρα αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρός. ὁ μέντοι Ἀρχίδαμος ἰδὼν μὲν τὸν Κλεώνυμον κλαίοντα συν-εδάκρυε παρ-εστώς· ἀκούσας δὲ δεομένου, ἀπ-εκρίνατο, 'Ἀλλ', ὦ

Κλεώνυμε, ἴσθι μὲν ὅτι ἐγὼ τῷ ἐμῷ πατρὶ οὐδ' ἀντι-βλέπειν δύναμαι, ἀλλὰ κἂν βούλωμαι δια-πράξασθαί τι ἐν τῇ πόλει, δέομαι πάντων ἀνθρώπων μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ πατρός μου. ὅμως δ', ἐπεὶ σὺ κελεύεις, προ-θυμήσομαι δια-πράξασθαί σοι ταῦτα.'

The King seems inflexible.

Καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος ἐκ τοῦ φιλιτίου εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἐλθὼν ἀν-επαύετο· τοῦ δ' ὄρθρου ἀνα-στὰς ἐφύλαττε μὴ λάθοι αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἐξ-ελθών. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδεν αὐτὸν ἐξ-ιόντα, πρῶτον μέν, εἴ τις τῶν πολιτῶν παρ-ἦν, παρ-ίει τούτους δια-λέγεσθαι αὐτῷ, ἔπειτα δ', εἴ τις ξένος, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς θεράπουσι παρ-εχώρει. τέλος δ', ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐρώτα ἀπ-ιὼν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος εἰς-ἦλθεν οἴκαδε, ἀπ-ιὼν ᾤχετο οὐδὲ προς-ελθών. καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ δὲ ταὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐποίησεν. ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος ὑπ-ώπτευε μὲν ὧν ἕνεκεν ἐφοίτα, οὐ μέντοι ἠρώτα, ἀλλ' εἴα αὐτόν. ὁ δ' αὖ Ἀρχίδαμος ἐπ-εθύμει μὲν ὁρᾶν τὸν Κλεώνυμον· οὐ μέντοι ἐτόλμησεν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν, μὴ δι-ειλεγμένος τῷ πατρὶ περὶ ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἐδεήθη. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Σφοδρίαν οὐχ ὁρῶντες τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον ἰόντα, πρόσθεν δὲ θαμίζοντα, ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ λελοιδορημένος εἴη ὑπ' Ἀγησιλάου. τέλος μέντοι ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος ἐτόλμησε προς-ελθεῖν καὶ εἰπεῖν, "Ὦ πάτερ, Κλεώνυμος κελεύει με δεηθῆναί σου σῶσαί οἱ τὸν πατέρα· καὶ ἐγὼ ταῦτά σου δέομαι, εἰ δυνατόν.' ὁ δ' ἀπ-εκρίνατο, "Ἀλλὰ σοὶ μὲν ἔγωγε συγγνώμην ἔχω· αὐτὸς μέντοι οὐχ ὁρῶ ὅπως ἂν συγγνώμης τύχοιμι παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, μὴ κατα-γιγνώσκων ἄνδρα ἀδικεῖν, ὃς ἐπὶ κακῷ τῆς πόλεως χρήματα αἰσχρῶς ἑαυτῷ ἐκτήσατο.' ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν πρὸς ταῦτα οὐδὲν εἶπεν, ἀλλ' εἴκων τῷ δικαίῳ ἀπ-ῆλθεν. ὕστερον δὲ, ἢ αὐτὸς νοήσας ἢ διδαχθεὶς ὑπό τινος, εἶπεν ἐλθὼν,

'Αλλ' οἶδα ὅτι μὲν, ὦ πάτερ, εἰ μηδὲν ἠδικήκει Σφοδρίας, ἀπ-έλυσας ἂν αὐτόν· νῦν δὲ, εἰ ἠδίκηκέ τι, ἡμῶν ἕνεκα συγγνώμης παρὰ σοῦ τυχέτω.' ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, 'Ἐὰν μέλλῃ καλὰ ταῦτα ἡμῖν εἶναι, οὕτως ἔσται.'

The hint of Etymocles.—Past services outweigh present faults.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἀπ-ῄει μάλα δύς-ελπις ὤν. τῶν δὲ τοῦ Σφοδρίου φίλων τις δια-λεγόμενος Ἐτυμοκλεῖ, ἐνὶ τῶν πρότερον Ἀθήναζε πεμφθέντων πρεσβέων, εἶπεν, 'Ὑμεῖς μὲν, οἶμαι, οἱ Ἀγησιλάου φίλοι ἀπο-κτενεῖτε τὸν Σφοδρίαν.' καὶ ὁ Ἐτυμοκλῆς, 'Μὰ Δία οὐκ ἄρα ταὔτ',' ἔφη, 'ποιήσομεν Ἀγησιλάῳ, ἐπεὶ ἐκεῖνός γε πρὸς πάντας, ὅσοις δι-είλεκται, ταὐτὰ λέγει, ἀδικεῖν μὲν Σφοδρίαν· χαλεπὸν μέντοι εἶναι ἀπο-κτείνειν τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα· ὅστις παῖς τε ὢν καὶ παιδίσκος καὶ ἡβῶν πάντα τὰ καλὰ ποιῶν δι-ετέλεσε· τὴν γὰρ Σπάρτην τοιούτων δεῖσθαι στρατιωτῶν.' ὁ δ' ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἀπ-ήγγειλε τῷ Κλεωνύμῳ. ὁ δ' ἡσθεὶς, εὐθὺς ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον εἶπεν, 'Ὅτι σὺ μὲν ἡμῶν ἐπι-μελεῖ, ἤδη ἴσμεν· εὖ δ' ἐπίστω, Ἀρχίδαμε, ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς πειρασόμεθα ἐπι-μελεῖσθαι ὡς μήποτε σὺ αἰσχυνθῇς ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ φιλίᾳ.' καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζῶν ἅπαντ' ἐποίει, ὅσα νομίζεται καλὰ ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, καὶ ἐν Λεύκτροις πρὸ τοῦ βασιλέως μαχόμενος τρὶς πεσὼν καὶ τρὶς ἐξ-ανα-στὰς πρῶτος τῶν πολιτῶν ἐν μέσοις τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπ-έθανε. καὶ ἠνίασε μὲν εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα Ἀρχίδαμον, ὡς δ' ὑπ-έσχετο, οὐ κατ-ῄσχυνεν αὐτόν. τοιούτῳ μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ Σφοδρίας ἀπ-έφυγε.

4. THE FIRST CHECKS TO SPARTAN SUPREMACY.

B. C. 378–375.

The Indignation of Athens.

Τῶν μέντοι Ἀθηναίων οἱ Βοιωτιάζοντες ἐδίδασκον τὸν δῆμον, ὡς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐ μόνον οὐ τιμωρήσαιντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ-αινέσειαν τὸν Σφοδρίαν, ὅτι ἐπ-εβούλευσε ταῖς Ἀθήναις. καὶ ἐκ τούτου οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ναῦς τε ἐναυπηγοῦντο καὶ ἐβοήθουν τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ.

The Failure of Phoebidas.

Ὁ δ' αὖ Φοιβίδας ἁρμοστὴς ἐν Θεσπιαῖς κατα-στὰς πολλὰς κατα-δρομὰς ποιούμενος ἐκακούργει τὴν χώραν τῶν Θηβαίων. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι, βουλόμενοι ἀντιτιμωρεῖσθαι, στρατεύουσι παυδημεὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Θεσπιέων χώραν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσαν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, ὁ Φοιβίδας σὺν τοῖς πελτασταῖς προς-κείμενος οὐδαμῶς εἶα αὐτοὺς ἀπο-σκεδαννύσθαι τῆς φάλαγγος· ὥστε οἱ Θηβαῖοι μάλα ἀχθόμενοι τῇ ἐμβολῇ θάττονα τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ οἱ τὰς ἡμιόνους ἐλαύνοντες ἀπο-ρ-ριπτοῦντες καρπὸν, ὃν εἰλήφεσαν, ἀπ-ήλαυνον οἴκαδε· οὕτω δεινὸς φόβος τῷ στρατεύματι ἐν-έπεσεν. ὁ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ θρασέως ἐπ-έκειτο, περὶ ἑαυτὸν μὲν ἔχων τοὺς πελταστὰς, τοὺς δ' ὁπλίτας κελεύσας ἕπεσθαι ἐν τάξει. καὶ ἤλπιζε ποιήσασθαι τροπὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν· αὐτός τε γὰρ ἐρρωμένως ἡγεῖτο, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρ-εκελεύετο ἐπι-τίθεσθαι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, καὶ τοὺς τῶν Θεσπιέων ὁπλίτας ἐκέλευεν ἀκολουθεῖν. ὡς δὲ οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππεῖς ἀπο-χωροῦντες

ἐγίγνοντο ἐπὶ νάπῃ ἀδιαβάτῳ, πρῶτον μὲν ἠθροίσθησαν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἀν-έστρεφον διὰ τὸ ἀπορεῖν ὅπῃ δια-βαίεν. οἱ μὲν οὖν πελτασταὶ ὀλίγοι ὄντες οἱ πρῶτοι φοβηθέντες αὐτοὺς ἔφυγον· καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Φοιβίδας καὶ δύο ἢ τρεῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι ἀπ-έθανον, οἱ δὲ μισθοφόροι, ὡς εἶδον τοῦτο, πάντες ἔφυγον. ἐπεὶ δὲ φεύγοντες ἀφ-ίκοντο πρὸς τοὺς ὁπλίτας τῶν Θεσπιέων, κἀκεῖνοι, καίπερ πρόσθεν μέγα φρονοῦντες μὴ ὑπ-είξειν τοῖς Θηβαίοις, ἔφυγον, οὐδέν τι πάνυ διωκόμενοι· καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἤδη ὀψέ. καὶ ἀπ-έθανον μὲν οὐ πολλοί, ὅμως δὲ οὐ πρόσθεν ἔστησαν οἱ Θεσπιεῖς, πρὶν ἐν τῷ τείχει ἐγένοντο.

Thebes appeals to Athens to make a Diversion in her favour.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου πάλιν αὖ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἤρξαντο εὐτυχεῖν, καὶ ἐστρατεύοντο εἰς Θεσπιὰς καὶ εἰς τὰς ἄλλας τὰς περι-οικίδας πόλεις. παρα-σκευαζομένων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων δια-βιβάζειν στράτευμα ἐπὶ τοὺς Βοιωτούς, οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐδεήθησαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων πέμψαι στράτευμα περὶ Πελοπόννησον· ἐνομίσαν γὰρ, ὅτι, εἰ τοῦτο γένοιτο, οὐ δυνατὸν ἔσοιτο τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἅμα μὲν τήν τε ἑαυτῶν χώραν καὶ τὰς συμμαχίδας πόλεις φυλάττειν, ἅμα δὲ στράτευμα δια-βιβάζειν ἱκανὸν ἐπὶ σφᾶς.

Timotheus makes a most effective Diversion for them by securing the mastery of the sea.

Καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὀργιζόμενοι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις διὰ τὸ Σφοδρία ἔργον προθύμως ἐξ-έπεμψαν περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ναῦς τε ἑξήκοντα καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Τιμόθεον. καὶ τῶν πολεμίων οὐκ ἐμ-βεβληκότων εἰς τὰς Θήβας, ἐν ᾧ Τιμόθεος περι-έπλευσε, θρασέως δὴ στρατευόμενοι οἱ Θηβαῖοι τὰς περι-οικίδας πόλεις πάλιν ἀν-ελάμβανον. ὁ δὲ Τιμόθεος

περι-πλεύσας, Κερκύραν μὲν εὐθὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ἐποιήσατο· οὐ μέντοι ἠνδραποδίσατο οὐδὲ νόμους μετ-έστησεν· ἐξ ὧν ἔσχε τὰς ἐκεῖ πόλεις πάσας εὐμενεστέρας. ἀντ-επλήρωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ναυτικὸν, καὶ ἐξ-έπεμψαν Νικόλοχον ναύαρχον μάλα θρασὺν ἄνδρα· ὃς, ἐπειδὴ εἶδε τὰς μετὰ Τιμοθέου ναῦς, οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν ἀλλ' ἐναυμάχησεν. καὶ ναυμαχίας γενομένης οὐ μεγάλης ἡττήθη. ὁ δὲ Τιμόθεος καὶ ἄλλας προς-πληρωσάμενος πολὺ δὴ ὑπερεῖχε ναυτικῷ. μετ-επέμπετο μέντοι χρήματα Ἀθήνηθεν. πολλῶν γὰρ ἐδεῖτο πόλλὰς ναῦς ἔχων.

SECTION VI.

THE BATTLES OF LEUCTRA AND MANTINEA.

B.C. 371 AND B.C. 362.

SECTION VI.

1. THE BATTLE OF LEUCTRA,

B. C. 371.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

We have seen in the last Section how the Spartans seized the citadel of Thebes in time of peace, and held it till they were ousted by the famous conspiracy which restored the Theban power; we have also seen how a similar treacherous attempt was made on the Piraeus, which so irritated the Athenians, that, though no friends of Thebes, they made common cause with the Thebans for a time. At length the expulsion of their old allies the Plataeans raised a strong anti-Theban feeling at Athens. At the same time, in consequence of a disastrous expedition against Corcyra, the Spartans were inclined for a general peace. At the congress which ensued the Athenians proposed one on the basis of the peace of Antalcidas, requiring the independence of every city, small as well as great. Epaminondas claimed that Thebes should sign the treaty as the recognised head of the Boeotian federal union. Sparta had reserved her own rights over her allies, but vehemently repudiated the claim of Thebes to do the same.

This dispute led to the battle of Leuctra, important not only for its political results, which were no less than the transfer of the supremacy of Greece from Sparta to Thebes, but also for the momentous change in Greek military tactics which was there initiated. The account in the text is so meagre, that it is necessary to point out the nature and importance of the change.

The Greek armies had hitherto fought in line. Epaminondas, the Theban general, now formed his left wing in columns of fifty deep. He covered his advance with the redoubtable Theban cavalry. By marching his attacking force up obliquely or in echelon, he brought this left wing

into action first; his trained cavalry repulsed the inferior mounted yeomanry of the Spartans; the whole weight of the column was then thrown on the Spartan right, where the king and the strength of his army were posted, just when they were disorganized by their routed cavalry falling back upon them. The Spartans were broken, and retired within the lines of their camp, which was on the higher ground. The allies on the left, who had not yet been engaged, did not even wait for the Theban attack to follow their example. The terrible effect of the charge of the Theban phalanx was marked by the number of the Spartan dead.

The idea of 'bringing an irresistible force of attack to bear on one point of the enemy's line, while the rest of the army is kept comparatively back until the action has been thus decided,' was first devised and applied by Epaminondas at Leuctra. He employed it again successfully in the masterly combinations which won the battle of Mantinea B.C. 362. It was in imitation of this tactical arrangement of Epaminondas that Philip formed the famous Macedonian Phalanx, which he made still more irresistible by lengthening the pikes of the men in the rear. Thus this great invention of Greek strategy was soon turned against the independence of Greece[1]: it was afterwards extensively used by Alexander in the conquests which brought Asia under the influence of Greek civilisation.

[1] See above, p. 86, note.

SECTION VI.

1. THE BATTLE OF LEUCTRA,

B.C. 371.

Athens finds that, though she hates Sparta much, she hates Thebes more.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περὶ ταῦτα ἦσαν. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατ-εστρέψαντό τε τὰς ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ πόλεις καὶ ἐστράτευον εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁρῶντες Πλαταιέας καίπερ ἑαυτοῖς φίλους ὄντας νῦν ἐκ-πεπτωκότας ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας καὶ Ἀθήναζε κατα-πεφευγότας, οὐκέτι ἐπ-ῄνουν τοὺς Θηβαίους, ἀλλὰ πολεμεῖν μὲν αὐτοῖς τὰ μὲν ᾐσχύνοντο, τὰ δὲ ἀσυμφόρως ἔχειν ἐλογίζοντο. κοινωνεῖν γε μὴν αὐτοῖς ὧν ἔπραττον οὐκέτι ἤθελον, ἐπεὶ ἑώρων στρατεύοντάς τε αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ Φωκέας φίλους ἀρχαίους τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἀφανίζοντας πόλεις, πιστάς τ' ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον πολέμῳ καὶ φίλας ἑαυτοῖς γενομένας. ἐκ τούτων δὲ ψηφισάμενος ὁ δῆμος εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι, πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Θήβας πρέσβεις ἔπεμψε παρα-καλοῦντας ἀκολουθεῖν, εἰ βούλοιντο, εἰς Λακεδαίμονα περὶ εἰρήνης· ἔπειτα δὲ ἐξ-έπεμψαν καὶ αὐτοὶ πρέσβεις.

Thebes has to relinquish her Supremacy over the Boeotian cities.

Ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέχεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐφ' ᾧ τούς τε ἁρμοστὰς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐξ-άγειν, τά τε στρατόπεδα δια-λύειν καὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ καὶ τὰ πεζικά, τάς τε πόλεις αὐτονόμους ἐᾶν.' ἐπὶ τούτοις ὤμοσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν ὑπὲρ αὑτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι κατὰ πόλεις ἕκαστοι. ἀπο-γραψαμένων δ' ἐν ταῖς ὁμωμοκυίαις πόλεσι καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων, πρόσ-ελθόντες πάλιν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ἐκέλευον μετα-γράφειν ἀντὶ Θηβαίων Βοιώτους ὁμωμοκότας. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἀπ-εκρίνατο ὅτι μετα-γράψει μὲν οὐδὲν ὧν τὸ πρῶτον ὤμοσάν τε καὶ ἀπ-εγράψαντο· εἰ μέντοι μὴ βούλοιντο ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς εἶναι, ἐξ-αλείφειν ἂν ἔφη, εἰ κελεύοιεν. οὕτω δὴ εἰρήνην τῶν ἄλλων πεποιημένων, πρὸς δὲ Θηβαίους μόνους ἀντιλογίας οὔσης, οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ἤλπιζον Θηβαίους νῦν δεκατευθῆναι, αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι παντελῶς ἀθύμως ἔχοντες ἀπ-ῆλθον.

Sparta does not disarm herself, but tries to enforce the Submission of Thebes.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι τάς τε φρουρὰς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἀπ-ῆγον καὶ, ὅσα ὕστερον ἔλαβον μετὰ τοὺς ὅρκους τοὺς ἐν Λακεδαίμονι γενομένους, πάντα ἀπ-έδοσαν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέντοι ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τούς τε ἁρμοστὰς καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς ἀπ-ήγαγον, Κλεομβρότου δὲ ἔχοντος τὸ ἐν Φωκεῦσι στράτευμα καὶ ἐπ-ερωτῶντος τὰ οἴκοι τέλη τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, Προθόος μὲν ἔλεξεν ὅτι αὐτῷ δοκοίη δια-λῦσαι τὸ στράτευμα κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους· οὕτω γὰρ ἔφη οἴεσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς εὐμενεστάτους ἂν εἶναι καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἥκιστ' ἂν ἄχθεσθαι· ἡ δ' ἐκκλησία ἀκούσασα ταῦτα ἐκεῖνον

μὲν φλυαρεῖν ἠγήσατο· ἤδη γὰρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸ δαιμόνιον ἦγεν· ἐπ-έστειλαν δὲ τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ μὴ δια-λύειν τὸ στράτευμα, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, εἰ μὴ αὐτονόμους ἀφ-ίοιεν τὰς πόλεις.

The two Armies meet at Leuctra. Both Spartans and Thebans determine to fight.

Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἤσθετο τοὺς Θηβαίους οὐχ ὅπως τὰς πόλεις ἀφ-ιέντας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ στράτευμα δια-λύοντας, οὕτω δὴ ἦγε τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐν Λεύκτροις τῆς Θεσπικῆς. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐπὶ τῷ ἀπαντικρὺ λόφῳ, οὐδένας ἔχοντες συμμάχους ἀλλ' ἢ τοὺς Βοιωτούς. ἔνθα δὴ τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ οἱ μὲν φίλοι προς-ιόντες ἔλεγον, 'Ὦ Κλεόμβροτε, εἰ ἀφήσεις τοὺς Θηβαίους ἄνευ μάχης, κινδυνεύσεις ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν. εἴπερ οὖν ἡ σαυτοῦ κήδῃ ἢ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπι-θυμεῖς, ἀκτέον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας.' οἱ δ' ἐναντίοι, 'νῦν δὴ,' ἔφασαν, 'δήλωσει ὁ ἀνὴρ, εἰ τῷ ὄντι κήδεται τῶν Θηβαίων, ὥσπερ λέγεται.' ὁ μὲν δὴ Κλεόμβροτος ταῦτα ἀκούων παρ-ωξύνετο πρὸς τὸ μάχην συν-άπτειν. τῶν δ' αὖ Θηβαίων οἱ προ-εστῶτες ἐλογίζοντο ὡς, εἰ μὴ μαχοῖντο, ἀπο-στήσοιντο μὲν αἱ περι-οικίδες αὐτῶν πόλεις, αὐτοὶ δὲ πολιορκήσοιντο· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἕξοι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Θηβαίων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, κινδυνεύσοι καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐναντία γενέσθαι. ἅτε δὲ καὶ πεφευγότες πρόσθεν πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐλογίζοντο κρεῖττον εἶναι μαχομένους ἀπο-θνήσκειν ἢ πάλιν φεύγειν.

Omens of success for Thebes.

Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις παρ-εθάρρυνε μέν τι αὐτοὺς καὶ ὁ χρησμὸς ὁ λεγόμενος ὡς δέοι ἐνταῦθα Λακεδαιμονίους

ἡττηθῆναι ἔνθα τὸ τῶν παρθένων ἦν μνῆμα, αἳ λέγονται διὰ τὸ βιασθῆναι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων τινῶν ἀπο-κτεῖναι ἑαυτάς. καὶ ἐκόσμησαν δὴ τοῦτο τὸ μνῆμα οἱ Θηβαῖοι πρὸ τῆς μάχης. ἀπ-ηγγέλλετο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῖς ὡς οἵ τε νεῲ πάντες αὐτόματοι ἀν-εῴγοντο, αἵ τε ἱέρειαι λέγοιεν ὡς νίκην οἱ θεοὶ φαίνοιεν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἔφασαν ἀφανῆ εἶναι, ὡς τοῦ Ἡρακλέους εἰς τὴν μάχην ἐξ-ωρμημένου. οἱ μὲν δή τινες λέγουσιν ὡς ταῦτα πάντα τεχνάσματα ἦν τῶν προ-εστηκότων.

Blunders of the Spartans.

Εἰς δ' οὖν τὴν μάχην τοῖς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίοις πάντα ἐγίγνετο ἐναντία, τοῖς δὲ πάντα καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης κατ-ωρθοῦτο. ἦν μὲν γὰρ μετ' ἄριστον τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ ἡ τελευταία βουλὴ περὶ τῆς μάχης· ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ τὸν οἶνον παρ-οξῦναί τι αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ μεσημβρίᾳ ὑπο-πίνοντας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὡπλίζοντο ἑκάτεροι καὶ πρόδηλον ἤδη ἦν ὅτι μάχη ἔσοιτο, πρῶτον μὲν οἱ τὴν ἀγορὰν παρ-εσκευακότες καὶ σκευοφόροι τινὲς καὶ οἱ οὐ βουλόμενοι μάχεσθαι, ἀπ-ῆεσαν ἐκ τοῦ Βοιωτίου στρατεύματος. οἱ δὲ μισθοφόροι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων περι-ιόντες κύκλῳ ἐπι-θέμενοι τοῖς ἀπ-ιοῦσιν ἐπ-έστρεψάν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ κατ-εδίωξαν πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν Βοιωτῶν· ὥστε ἐποίησαν τὸ τῶν Βοιωτῶν στράτευμα πολὺ μεῖζόν τε καὶ ἀθροώτερον ἢ πρόσθεν. ἔπειτα δὲ, ἅτε καὶ πεδίου ὄντος τοῦ μεταξὺ, προ-ετάξαντο μὲν τῆς ἑαυτῶν φάλαγγος οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς ἱππέας, ἀντ-ετάξαντο δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν. ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππικὸν μεμελετηκὸς

διά τε τὸν πρὸς Ὀρχομενίους πόλεμον καὶ διὰ τὸν πρὸς Θεσπιέας, τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον πονηρότατον ἦν τὸ ἱππικόν. ἔτρεφον μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἵππους οἱ πλουσιώτατοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ φρουρὰ φανθείη, τότε ἦκεν ὁ συν-τεταγμένος· λαβὼν δ' ἂν τὸν ἵππον καὶ ὅπλα, ὁποῖα δοθείη αὐτῷ, ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα ἂν ἐστρατεύετο· τῶν δ' αὖ στρατιωτῶν οἱ τοῖς σώμασιν ἀδυνατώτατοι καὶ ἥκιστα φιλότιμοι ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἦσαν. τοιοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸ ἱππικὸν ἑκατέρων ἦν. τῆς δὲ φάλαγγος οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμονίοι εἰς τρεῖς τὴν ἐνωμοτίαν ἦγον· διὰ τοῦτο δὲ ἐγένετο οὐ πλέον ἢ εἰς δώδεκα τὸ βάθος. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἀσπίδων συν-εστραμμένοι ἦσαν, λογιζόμενοι ὡς, εἰ νικήσειαν τὸ περὶ τὰν βασιλέα, τὸ ἄλλο πᾶν εὐ-χείρωτον ἔσοιτο.

The Engagement: signal Success of the Theban manœuvre.

Ἠνίκα δὲ ἤρξατο ἄγειν ὁ Κλεόμβροτος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, οἱ ἱππεῖς ἤδη συν-εβεβλήκεσαν καὶ ταχὺ ἥττηντο οἱ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων· φεύγοντες δὲ ἐν-επεπτώκεσαν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ὁπλίταις, ἔτι δὲ ἐν-έβαλλον οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων λόχοι. ἔπειτα δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Κλεόμβροτος δόρατι πληγεὶς ἔπεσεν. οὕτω δὲ ὡς ἀπ-έθανον Δείνων τε ὁ πολέμαρχος καὶ Σφοδρίας καὶ Κλεώνυμος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, ἅπαντες οἱ ἐν τῷ δεξίῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου ὠθούμενοι ἀν-εχώρουν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ὄντες ὡς ἑώρων τὸ δεξιὸν ὠθούμενον, ἐν-έκλιναν. ὅμως δὲ πολλῶν τεθνεώτων καὶ ἡττημένοι, ἐπεὶ δι-έβησαν τὴν τάφρον, ἦ πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔτυχεν οὖσα αὐτοῖς, ἐθέντο τὰ ὅπλα κατὰ χώραν ἔνθεν ὥρμηντο. τὸ γὰρ στρατόπεδον ἦν οὐ πάνυ ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ὀρθίῳ μᾶλλόν τι.

The extent of the Spartan loss forces them to acknowledge a Defeat.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἦσαν μέν τινες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οἳ ἀφόρητον τὴν συμφορὰν ἡγούμενοι ἔφασαν χρῆναι κωλύειν τε τοὺς πολεμίους ἱστάναι τὸ τρόπαιον, καὶ πειρᾶσθαι ἀν-αιρεῖσθαι τοὺς νεκροὺς μὴ ὑποσπόνδους, ἀλλὰ διὰ μάχης. οἱ δὲ πολέμαρχοι ἐβουλεύοντο τί χρὴ ποιεῖν· ἑώρων γὰρ τῶν μὲν συμπάντων Λακεδαιμονίων τεθνεῶτας ἐγγὺς χιλίους, αὐτῶν δὲ Σπαρτιατῶν, (ὄντων τῶν ἐκεῖ ὡς ἑπτακοσίων) τεθνηκότας περὶ τετρακοσίους· ἔτι δ' ᾐσθάνοντο τοὺς συμμάχους πάντας μὲν ἀθύμως ἔχοντας πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι, ἐνίους δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ἀχθομένους τῷ γεγενημένῳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶσιν ἐδόκει ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀν-αιρεῖσθαι, οὕτω δὴ ἔπεμψαν κήρυκα περὶ σπονδῶν. οἱ μέντοι Θηβαῖοι μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τρόπαιον ἐστήσαντο καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπ-έδοσαν.

The heroic Self-command with which the news of the Catastrophe is received at Sparta.

Γενομένων δὲ τούτων, ὁ μὲν εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ἀγγελῶν τὸ πάθος ἀφ-ικνεῖται· ἦν δ' ἡ τελευταία Γυμνοπαιδιῶν, ὅτε ὁ ἀνδρικὸς χορὸς ἠγωνίζετο ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ. οἱ δὲ ἔφοροι, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν τὸ πάθος, ἐλυποῦντο μὲν, ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, ἀνάγκη ἦν· τὸν μέντοι χορὸν οὐκ ἐξ-ήγαγον, ἀλλὰ δι-αγωνίσασθαι εἴων. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὀνόματα πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἑκάστου τῶν τεθνεώτων ἀπ-έδοσαν· προεῖπον δὲ ταῖς γυναιξὶ μὴ ποιεῖν κραυγὴν, ἀλλὰ σιγῇ τὸ πάθος φέρειν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἦν ὁρᾶν, ὧν μὲν ἐτέθνασαν οἱ προς-ήκοντες, λιπαροὺς καὶ φαιδροὺς ἐν τῷ φανερῷ ἀνα-στρεφομένους, ὧν δὲ ζῶντες ἠγγελμένοι ἦσαν, ὀλίγους ἂν εἶδες, τούτους δὲ σκυθρωποὺς καὶ ταπεινοὺς περι-ιόντας.

Athens refuses to retaliate on Sparta.

Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἔπεμψαν εἰς Ἀθήνας ἄγγελον ἐστεφανωμένον, καὶ ἅμα μὲν τῆς νίκης τὸ μέγεθος ἔφραζον, ἅμα δὲ βοηθεῖν ἐκέλευον, λέγοντες ὡς νῦν ἐξ-εἰη τιμωρήσασθαι Λακεδαιμονίους πάντων ὧν ἐπεποιήκεσαν αὐτούς. τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἡ βουλὴ ἐτύγχανεν ἐν ἀκροπόλει καθ-ημένη. ἐπεὶ δ' ἤκουσαν τὸ γεγενημένον, πᾶσι δῆλον ἐγένετο ὅτι σφόδρα ἠνιάθησαν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ ξένια τὸν κήρυκα ἐκάλεσαν, περί τε τῆς βοηθείας οὐδὲν ἀπ-εκρίναντο. καὶ Ἀθήνηθεν οὕτως ἀπ-ῆλθεν ὁ κῆρυξ.

Sparta calls out her reserves. Intervention of Jason.

Οἱ δ' ἔφοροι φρουρὰν ἔφαινον ὡς τάχιστα μεχρὶ τῶν τετταράκοντα ἀφ' ἥβης· καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' ἀρχαῖς δὲ τότε καταλειφθέντας ἐκέλευον ἀκολουθεῖν. προθύμως δὲ καὶ οἱ Μαντινεῖς ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν συν-εστρατεύοντο· ἀριστοκρατούμενοι γὰρ ἐτύγχανον. καὶ Κορίνθιοι δὲ καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ μάλα προθύμως ἠκολούθουν. οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι ἔπεμπον σπουδῇ πρὸς Ἰάσονα τὸν τῶν Θεττάλων ταγὸν, σύμμαχον ἑαυτοῖς ὄντα, κελεύοντες βοηθεῖν· δι-ελογίζοντο γὰρ πῇ τὸ μέλλον ἀπο-βήσοιτο. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ ἀφ-ίκετο ἀπ-έτρεπε τοὺς Θηβαίους τοῦ πάλιν ἐπι-τίθεσθαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, μὴ δια-κινδυνεύσαντες στερηθεῖεν καὶ τῆς γεγενημένης νίκης. ταῦτα δ' ἔπραττεν ἴσως, ὅπως διάφοροι ἀλλήλοις ὄντες ἀμφότεροι ἐκείνου δέοιντο. σπονδῶν δὲ οὕτω γενομένων ἀπο-χωροῦσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εἰς τὴν Μεγαρικήν· ἐκεῖ δὲ καὶ τῷ ἑτέρῳ στρατεύματι περι-τυχόντες οὕτω δὴ ἀπ-ῆλθον ἐπ' οἶκου.

2. THE BATTLE OF MANTINEA.

B.C. 362.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

THE battle of Leuctra was the death-blow to the power of Sparta. The supremacy of Greece was transferred to Thebes, and the genius of Epaminondas was exerted to make that supremacy permanent. To prevent a revival of the influence of Sparta in the Peloponnese, he determined to establish two new political powers within the peninsula itself. With these aims, he at once restored the city of Mantinea, which the Spartans had broken up[1], and then assisted the scattered Arcadian villages in forming themselves into a federal union. This Arcadian confederation was to be a barrier to Sparta on the north. In furtherance of this policy, he made an expedition into the Peloponnese, and, with the assistance of his Arcadian allies, invaded Laconia and nearly took the town of Sparta. He then assisted the Messenians in recovering their independence. Messenia had been united to Sparta for three centuries: but as it was the natural result of the Spartan system of home-government[2] that her worst foes were those of her own household, so in this case, so far from time having effected any amalgamation of race, it had only intensified the original bitterness of the Messenians against their Dorian invader. Thus Sparta was not only hemmed in by Arcadia on the north, but her other or western frontier was perpetually threatened by this Messenian encampment on her flank.

After Epaminondas had gained these successes in the south, Pelopidas made an expedition into Thessaly and Macedonia, to extend Theban influence on the north,—an expedition which was memorable for having brought the young Philip, afterwards the famous king of Macedon, as a hostage to Thebes. These successes were,

[1] See above, iv. p. 79.

[2] See above, iii. p. 49.

however, somewhat counterbalanced by the death of Pelopidas himself, one of the two great men of Thebes, in another expedition against the tyrant of Thessaly. Thebes, meantime, was becoming generally unpopular; the liberal policy which Epaminondas had initiated in dealing with her subject-allies had been reversed by the Theban government in the case of Achaia. Athens, which had lately extended her maritime empire, was closely allied with Sparta, and was always ready to act with her against Thebes. War at length broke out between Arcadia and Elis, in which the Eleians were supported by Sparta. The conclusion of this war became the occasion of a split in the Arcadian confederation, as the Mantineans co-operated with Sparta to secure a favourable peace for Elis. This led to dissensions between Thebes and Mantinea, and it was to prevent the rise of an anti-Theban coalition, by the union of Mantinea with Sparta, Elis, and Athens, that Epaminondas made the famous expedition described in the text.

In the battle of Mantinea Epaminondas successfully employed the same tactics as at Leuctra, but, when he was killed, the Theban victory was rendered useless by the loss of the only man who would have known how to use it. The battle of Mantinea thus left Greece without a head, and paved the way for her subjection to Macedon.

Epaminondas makes a sudden descent on Sparta.

Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐξ-ήει Βοιωτοὺς ἔχων πάντας καὶ Εὐβοέας καὶ Θετταλῶν πολλούς· ὑπ-ῆρχον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ Ἀργειοί τε καὶ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Ἀρκάδων Τεγεᾶταί τε καὶ Μεγαλοπολῖται. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένετο ἐν Τεγέᾳ, κατ-εμάνθανε περὶ μὲν τὴν Μαντίνειαν τοὺς ἀντιπάλους πεφυλαγμένους, μετα-πεμπομένους δὲ Ἀγησίλαόν τε καὶ πάντας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους· ὡς δ' ἤσθετο ἐξ-εστρατευμένον τὸν Ἀγησίλαον καὶ ὄντα ἤδη ἐν τῇ Πελλήνῃ, δειπνο-ποιησάμενος ἠγεῖτο τῷ στρατεύματι εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Σπάρτην. καὶ εἰ μὴ Κρὴς θείᾳ τινὶ μοίρᾳ προς-ελθὼν ἐξ-ήγγειλε τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ προς-ιὸν τὸ στράτευμα, ἔλαβεν ἂν τὴν πόλιν ὥσπερ νεοττιὰν παντάπασιν ἔρημον τῶν ἀμυνουμένων. ἐπεὶ μέντοι προ-πυθόμενος ταῦτα ὁ Ἀγη-

σίλαος ἔφθη εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπ-ελθὼν, δια-ταξάμενοι οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται ἐφύλαττον, καὶ μάλα ὀλίγοι ὄντες· οἵ τε γὰρ ἱππεῖς πάντες ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ ἀπ-ῆσαν καὶ τὸ ξενικὸν καὶ τῶν λόχων δώδεκα ὄντων οἱ τρεῖς.

He receives a check and retreats to Tegea.

Περὶ δὲ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν γενόμενον ἔξ-εστι λέγειν ὡς τοῖς ἀπο-νενοημένοις οὐδεὶς ἂν ὑπο-σταίη. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἠγεῖτο Ἀρχίδαμος οὐδὲ ἑκατὸν ἔχων ἄνδρας, καὶ ἐπορεύετο πρὸς ὄρθιον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντιπάλους, ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ πῦρ πνέοντες, οἱ νενικηκότες τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, οἱ τῷ παντὶ πλέονες καὶ προσέτι ὑπερδέξια χωρία ἔχοντες, οὐκ ἐδέξαντο τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον, ἀλλ' ἐγ-κλίνουσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι τῶν Ἐπαμεινώνδα ἀπο-θνήσκουσιν· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἀγαλλόμενοι τῇ νίκῃ οἱ ἔνδοθεν ἐδίωξαν πορρωτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ, οὗτοι αὖ ἀποθνήσκουσι· περι-εγέγραπτο γὰρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, μέχρι ὅσου ἡ νίκη ἐδέδοτο αὐτοῖς. καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀρχίδαμος τρόπαιόν τε ἵστατο ἔνθα ἐπ-εκράτησε καὶ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα πεσόντας τῶν πολεμίων ὑποσπόνδους ἀπ-εδίδου. ὁ δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας λογιζόμενος ὅτι οἱ Ἀρκάδες βοηθήσοιεν εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐκ ἐβούλετο καὶ πᾶσι Λακεδαιμονίοις ὁμοῦ γενομένοις μάχεσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ εὐτυχηκόσι ἀπο-τετυχηκώς· πάλιν δὲ πορευθεὶς ὡς ἐδύνατο τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν τοὺς μὲν ὁπλίτας ἀν-έπαυσε.

His cavalry are prevented by the Athenian cavalry from making a raid on Mantinea.

Τοὺς δ' ἱππέας ἔπεμψεν εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν, δεηθεὶς αὐτῶν προς-καρτερῆσαι, καὶ διδάσκων ὡς εἰκὸς εἴη πάντα μὲν ἔξω εἶναι τὰ τῶν Μαντινέων βοσκήματα, πάντας δὲ τοὺς

ἀνθρώπους, ἄλλως τε καὶ σίτου συγκομιδῆς οὔσης. καὶ οἱ μὲν ᾤχοντο· οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἱππεῖς ὁρμηθέντες ἐξ Ἐλευσῖνος ἐ-δειπνο-ποιήσαντο μὲν ἐν Ἰσθμῷ, δι-ελθόντες δὲ τὰς Κλεωνὰς ἐτύγχανον προς ιόντες εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν καὶ κατα-στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐντὸς τείχους ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις. ἐπεὶ δὲ δῆλοι ἦσαν προς-ελαύνοντες οἱ πολέμιοι, ἐδέοντο οἱ Μαντινεῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἱππέων βοηθῆσαι, εἴ τι δύναιντο· ἔξω γὰρ εἶναι καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα πάντα καὶ τοὺς ἐργάτας, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ παῖδας καὶ γεραιτέρους· ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ-βοηθοῦσιν, ἔτι ὄντες ἀνάριστοι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ ἵπποι. οὗτοι δὲ, καὶ πολὺ πλείονας ὁρῶντες τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ μέλλοντες μάχεσθαι Θηβαίοις καὶ Θετταλοῖς τοῖς κρατίστοις ἱππεῦσι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, ὅμως, ὡς εἶδον τάχιστα τοὺς πολεμίους, συν-έρραξαν, ἐρῶντες ἀνα-σώσασθαι τὴν πατρῴαν δόξαν. καὶ μαχόμενοι ἔσωσαν μὲν τὰ ἔξω πάντα τοῖς Μαντινεῦσιν, αὐτῶν δὲ ἀπ-έθανον ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ, καὶ ἀπ-έκτειναν δὲ τοιούτους· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω βραχὺ ὅπλον ἑκάτεροι εἶχον ᾧ οὐκ ἐξικνοῦντο ἀλλήλων.

Preparations for Battle.

Ὁ δ' αὖ Ἐπαμεινώνδας εἵπετο τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἄγων. παρ-εσκευάκει δὲ τὸ στράτευμα ὡς πόνον τε μηδένα ἀποκάμνειν μήτε νυκτὸς μήτε ἡμέρας, κινδύνου τε μηδενὸς ἀφ-ίστασθαι, σπάνιά τε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχοντας ὅμως πείθεσθαι ἐθέλειν. καὶ ὅτε τὸ τελευταῖον παρ-ήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς παρα-σκευάζεσθαι ὡς μάχης ἐσομένης, προθύμως μὲν ἐλευκοῦντο οἱ ἱππεῖς τὰ κράνη κελεύοντος ἐκείνου, ἐπ-εγράφοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὁπλῖται ῥόπαλα, ὡς Θηβαῖοι ὄντες, πάντες δὲ ἠκονῶντο καὶ λόγχας καὶ μαχαίρας καὶ ἐλαμπρύνοντο τὰς ἀσπίδας.

Tactics of Epaminondas; a pretended halt.

Ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὕτω παρ-εσκευασμένους ἐξ-ήγαγε, πρῶτον μὲν, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς, συν-ετάττετο. τοῦτο δὲ πράττων ἐδόκει σαφηνίζειν ὅτι εἰς μάχην παρ-εσκευάζετο· ἐπεί γε μὴν ἐτέτακτο αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα ὡς ἐβούλετο, τὴν μὲν συντομωτάτην ὁδὸν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἦγε, πρὸς δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέραν ὄρη καὶ ἀντιπέραν τῆς Τεγέας ἡγεῖτο· ὥστε δόξαν παρ-εῖχε τοῖς πολεμίοις μὴ ποιήσεσθαι μάχην ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὡς πρὸς τῷ ὄρει ἐγένετο, ἐπεὶ ἐξ-ετάθη αὐτῷ ἡ φάλαγξ, ὑπὸ τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς ἔθετο τὰ ὅπλα, ὥστε εἰκάσθη στρατοπεδευομένῳ. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ἔλυσε μὲν τῶν πλείστων πολεμίων τὴν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς πρὸς μάχην παρασκευὴν, ἔλυσε δὲ τὴν ἐν ταῖς συντάξεσιν.

He then masses troops on his Left Wing, and takes the enemy by Surprise.

Ἐπεί γε μὴν, παρ-αγαγὼν τοὺς ἐπὶ κέρως πορευομένους λόχους εἰς μέτωπον, ἰσχυρὸν ἐποιήσατο τὸ περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔμβολον, τότε δὴ παρ-αγγείλας τὰ ὅπλα ἀνα-λαβεῖν ἡγεῖτο· οἱ δ' ἠκολούθουν. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ὡς εἶδον παρὰ δόξαν ἐπ-ιόντας, οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ἠδύνατο, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἔθεον εἰς τὰς τάξεις, οἱ δὲ παρ-ετάττοντο, οἱ δὲ ἵππους ἐχαλίνουν, οἱ δὲ θώρακας ἐν-εδύοντο, πάντες δὲ πεισομένοις τι μᾶλλον ἢ ποιήσουσιν ἐῴκεσαν. ὁ δὲ προσῆγε τὸ στράτευμα ἀντίπρῳρον ὥσπερ τριήρη, νομίζων, ὅπῃ ἐμ-βαλὼν δια-κόψειε, δια-φθερεῖν ὅλον τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων στράτευμα· καὶ γὰρ δὴ τῷ μὲν ἰσχυροτάτῳ παρ-εσκευάζετο ἀγωνίζεσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἀσθενέστατον πόρρω ἀπ-έστησεν, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἡττηθὲν ἀθυμίαν ἂν παρά-σχοι τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ,

ῥώμην δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις. καὶ μὴν τοὺς ἱππέας οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι ἀντι-παρ-ετάξαντο, βάθος ὥσπερ ὁπλιτῶν φάλαγγα, ἐφεξῆς καὶ ἔρημον πεζῶν ἀμίππων· ὁ δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας αὖ καὶ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἔμβολον ἰσχυρὸν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἀμίππους πεζοὺς συν-έταξεν αὐτοῖς, νομίζων, τὸ ἱππικὸν ἐπεὶ διακόψειεν, ὅλον τὸ ἀντίπαλον νενικηκὼς ἔσεσθαι· μάλα γὰρ χαλεπὸν εὑρεῖν τοὺς ἐθελήσοντας μένειν, ἐπειδάν τινας φεύγοντας τῶν ἑαυτῶν ὁρῶσι.

Καὶ ὅπως μὴ ἐπι-βοηθῶσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐωνύμου κέρατος ἐπὶ τὸ ἐχόμενον, κατ-έστησεν ἐπὶ γηλόφων τινῶν ἐναντίους αὐτοῖς καὶ ἱππέας καὶ ὁπλίτας, φόβον βουλόμενος καὶ τούτοις παρ-έχειν ὡς, εἰ βοηθήσοιεν, ὄπισθεν οὗτοι ἐπι-κείσοιντο αὐτοῖς.

Victory of Thebes, and Death of Epaminondas.

Τὴν μὲν δὴ συμβολὴν οὕτως ἐποιήσατο, καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσθη τῆς ἐλπίδος· κρατήσας γὰρ ᾗ προς-έβαλεν ὅλον ἐποίησε φεύγειν τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων. ἐπεί γε μὴν ἐκεῖνος ἔπεσεν, οἱ λοιποὶ οὐδὲ τῇ νίκῃ ὀρθῶς ἔτι ἐδυνάσθησαν χρήσασθαι, ἀλλὰ φυγούσης μὲν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐναντίας φάλαγγος οὐδένα ἀπ-έκτειναν οἱ ὁπλῖται οὐδὲ προ-ῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου ἔνθα ἡ συμβολὴ ἐγένετο· φυγόντων δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν ἱππέων, ἀπ-έκτειναν μὲν οὐδ' οἱ ἱππεῖς διώκοντες οὔτε ἱππέας οὔθ' ὁπλίτας, ὥσπερ δὲ ἠττώμενοι πεφοβημένως διὰ τῶν φευγόντων πολεμίων δι-έπεσον. καὶ μὴν οἱ ἅμιπποι καὶ οἱ πελτασταὶ συν-νενικηκότες τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἀφ-ίκοντο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου, ὡς κρατοῦντες, ἐκεῖ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἱ πλεῖστοι αὐτῶν ἀπ-έθανον.

Indecisive Result of this great Contest for the Supremacy of Greece.

Τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων τοὐναντίον ἐγεγένητο οὗ ἐνόμισαν πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἔσεσθαι. συν-ελήλυθυίας γὰρ σχεδὸν ἁπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ ἀντι-τεταγμένης, οὐδεὶς ἦν ὅστις οὐκ ᾤετο, εἰ μάχη ἔσοιτο, τοὺς μὲν κρατήσαντας ἄρξειν, τοὺς δὲ κρατηθέντας ὑπηκόους ἔσεσθαι. τρόπαιον δὲ ἀμφότεροι ἐστήσαντο ὡς νενικηκότες· νεκροὺς δὲ ἀμφότεροι μὲν ὡς νενικηκότες ὑποσπόνδους ἀπ-έδοσαν, ἀμφότεροι δὲ ὡς ἡττημένοι ὑποσπόνδους ἀπ-ελάμβανον· νενικηκέναι δὲ καίπερ φάσκοντες ἑκάτεροι, ὅμως οὔτε χώρᾳ οὔτε πόλει οὔτ' ἀρχῇ οὐδέτεροι οὐδὲν πλέον ἔχοντες ἐφάνησαν, ἢ πρὶν τὴν μάχην γενέσθαι· ἀκρισία δὲ καὶ ταραχὴ ἔτι πλείων μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐγένετο ἢ πρόσθεν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι.

NOTES.

SECTION I.

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

B.C. 410—405.

(For the history of these battles see Grote, lxiii, lxiv, lxv; Student's Greece, xxxii. pp. 358–368, or, in smaller ed. xiii. pp. 127–134.)

N.B. '*n.*' *stands for* '*note:*' *so* '*l.* 144' *refers to a passage in the text, but* '*l.* 144 *n.*' *would refer to the* note *on line* 144.

1. THE BATTLE OF CYZICUS, B.C. 410.

Line 1. **Τισσαφέρνης.** Athens, the old foe of Persia, seems to be recovering her former power; Tissaphernes is anxious to regain the confidence of Sparta; he seizes Alcibiades, who is now the declared friend of Athens, with this object, but the wily Persian meets his match in the wiliest of the Greeks.

l. 2. **τριηρής**, (*τρίς*, *ἄρω*, 'to fit'), 'triply fitted;' hence sc. *ναῦς*, 'a trireme,' i.e. a galley with three banks of oars arranged one above the other, the common form of the Greek ship-of-war.

ξένιος, 'hospitable;' hence neut. pl. *ξένια*, 'friendly gifts,' given to a *ξένος*, or guest-friend, i.e. a foreigner with whom one had a treaty of hospitality.

l. 3. **φάσκων**; *φάναι*, 'to say,' *φά-σκειν*, 'to begin to say,' 'assert,' generally implying a doubt of the truth of the assertion. So l. 141 *φάσκοντες* goes with *ψευσόμεθα*, of a *false* story, but *φαμέν* expresses what they really believed. So again, l. 155, *φάσκων* is used of the man who *told a story* of his having been saved.

βασιλεύς, used familiarly for the 'King of Persia,' without the article, as if it were a proper name.

l. 5. **εὐπορέω**, (*εὖ*, 'well,' *πόρος* 'ways and means'), 'to be well off in respect of,' 'to be provided with' a thing, which is put in the genitive.

ἕδρα, according to *form*, might be either from *δράω*, 'to do,' imperf. *ἔδραν-ασ-α*, or from *δι-δρά-σκω*, 'to run away,' 2nd aor. *ἔδραν*; the *sense* determines the question. (The root *δρα* appears in *δρα-μεῖν*).

l. 6. **πυνθάνομαι**, 'to learn by inquiry.' This is one of the many doubly *nasal* presents, like *λανθ-άν-ω*, in which the stem (*πυθ*) is first strengthened by *ν*, as in *πίνω*, and Lat. 'si-no,' 'cer-no,' and then the termination *αν* is added as well. The stem *πυθ* has an historical interest as it represents the Sanskrit 'budh,' from which we get 'Buddh-ism,' the religion of the

followers of Buddha the 'learned' prophet. The arrangement of Greek verbs according to the changes of their stems divests Greek verbs of much of their apparent irregularity: cp. Curtius Grk. Gr. § 320–327, and Marshall's Table of Irregular Greek Verbs.

l. 8. **πεζός**, (*πούς*), 'on foot;' hence **πεζὸς στρατός**, or simply *τὸ* **πεζόν**, either 'foot-soldiery,' 'infantry,' opp. to 'cavalry,' or, as here, '*land-force*,' 'army,' opp. to *τὸ* **ναυτικόν**, 'navy.'

Κυζικῷ. Cyzicus and the other places here mentioned will be found in N.E. corner of map of Hellas at end.

l. 9. **ὑστεραίᾳ**, here the fem. termination marks that *ἡμερᾷ* is understood. The termination **-αιος** (implying time 'when') is also used by itself to imply 'days,' as in *τεταρταῖός ἐστι*, '(Lazarus) is four days dead.'

l. 10. **ναυμαχ-έω**, **πεζομαχ-έω**, **τειχομαχ-έω**. Compounds which are not made with prepositions are generally formed from compound nouns and fall under the later or contract conjugation in **έω**; thus while **προσ-μάχ-ομαι** is formed directly from **πρός** and **μάχομαι**, **ναυ-μαχ-έω** is not formed from **ναυσὶ μάχομαι**, but from **ναυμάχος**, and so **πεζομαχέω** from **πεζομάχος**, and not from **πεζῷ μάχομαι**: similarly **τειχομαχ-έω**, 'to assault a fortified place,' comes from **τειχομαχής**, 'an engineer.' The knowledge of this law explains the terminations of some English words; thus we have 'epigram,' from **ἐπι-γράφω** (**γέ-γραμ-μαι**), **ἐπίγραμμα**; but we ought to use 'telegraph,' not 'telegram,' from **τηλε-γραφ-έω** (**γε-γράφ-ημαι**), **τηλε-γράφημα**. 'Monogram,' meaning 'a cipher drawn by a single line,' does not come under this class as it is a compound of **γραμμή**, 'a line,' and is thus distinguished from 'monograph,' 'a writing on a single subject.'

l. 12. **ἄφθονα**, (**ἀ**, **φθόνος**, 'envy'), 'without grudging,' 'in plenty;' sc. *χρήματα*.

l. 13. **προτεραίᾳ**. Cp. l. 9 n.

ὁρμίζω, 'to anchor a ship,' (with **ὁρμίζομαι** or **ὁρμέω**, intrans. 'to lie at anchor'), is a word that naturally occurs frequently in the account of naval actions: so **συν-ορμίζω**, 'to bring to anchor together;' **ἐφορμέω**, 'to blockade:' **ὁρμ-έω** must be carefully distinguished from **ὁρμάω**, (or **ἀφ-ορμάω**), 'to hasten.' **ὁρμέω** is rarely used except in pres. and impf., as **ὁρμίζομαι** supplies the 1st aor.; so **ὥρμησα** is always from **ὁρμάω**.

ἀθροίζω, 'to muster forces,' (**ἀθρόος**, 'crowded'); hence **συν-αθροίζω**, 'to gather *together* into one body.'

l. 16. **ἁλίσκομαι**, which acts as the passive of **αἱρέω**, 'to catch,' with the participle means to be 'caught or detected in.'

l. 18. **ηὐξῆσθαι**, from **αὐξάνω**, to 'increase:' the augment can only remain in the infinitive when it stands for the reduplication, hence a glance will show that this must be the perfect: it must not be confounded with **εὔξασθαι**, 1st aor. inf. of **εὔχομαι**, 'to pray.'

l. 20. **ὄντος**, sc. *τοῦ Διός*, 'when Zeus was raining,' 'in the rain.'

πολλῷ, sc. **ὑετῷ**, which is supplied from **ὄντος**, 'with much rain,' 'heavily.'

l. 21. **αἰθρία**, 'fine weather;' **αἰθήρ**, the 'upper' or 'clear air,' is opposed to **ἀήρ**, the 'lower' or 'misty air.'

l. 22. **γυμνάζω**, act. 'to train some one,' mid. 'to train oneself,' so here, 'practise manœuvres.'

l. 23. **πόρρω**, or **πρόσω**, 'further,' then 'far from;' sometimes as a preposition with the genitive, sometimes as an adverb with **ἀπό** added.

ἀπολαμβάνω, to 'take from,' hence 'cut off,' 'intercept.'

l. 26. **ὁρμίσαντες . . . ἐμάχοντο . . . ἐπιπλέουσι.** These words mark well the difference between the aorist and the present or imperfect in Greek. The aorist is of one act *completed at once*, the present or imperfect of *continuous* acts, dramatically represented as still *going on*. 'They *anchored* (once for all), and then *they went on fighting* with the enemy as they *kept* sailing against them.'

l. 31. **οἴχομαι**, with perfect sense, 'to be gone,' or 'have gone;' it is often used with participles, as here with **ἄγων**, 'I have gone off carrying,' i.e. 'I have carried off.' So **οἴχεται φεύγων**, 'he is fled *and gone*.' In these cases it is generally best to translate the participle as if it were the main verb and express the meaning of **οἴχομαι** by some adverb, as 'away' or 'right off.' So **λανθάνω ἰών**, 'I escape notice going;' i.e. 'I slip off *unobserved*.' Compare **ἔτυχον ἀριστοποιούμενοι**, l. 81 n.

l. 34. **γράμμα**, 'a letter of the alphabet,' hence plur. like Lat. 'litterae,' a 'letter.'

ἐπι-στολεύς, 'a letter-writer' or 'secretary;' hence 'second in command,' or 'vice-admiral.'

l. 36. **ἔρρω**, lit. 'to go slowly,' then 'to go to one's own loss or harm,' hence to 'perish,' 'or be done for:' cp. Lat. 'erro,' 'to go astray.'

τὰ κᾶλα, 'the timber,' probably Doric for **αἱ νῆες**. The common reading is **ἔρρει τὰ καλά**, 'our honour is gone;' the objections to this are, (1) it would be *superfluous* to state this in so short a letter, (2) it would *omit* the most important fact of all—that all their *ships* were carried off.

ἀπ-εσσούα, Doric for **ἀπ-εσσύη**, 2nd aor. pass. of **ἀπο-σεύω**, 'to rush off,' a euphemism for 'is dead,' just as we say 'he is gone:' so we speak of 'the departed,' meaning 'the dead.'

l. 37. **πεινῶντι . . δρῆν**, in Attic this would be **πεινῶσιν οἱ ἄνδρες, ἀπορούμεν τί χρὴ δρᾶν**. The peculiar forms used in this Spartan letter mark the difference of the Greek dialects: Xenophon, being an Athenian, writes in the Attic dialect; the Spartan commander uses the broad Doric.

2. THE BATTLE OF NOTIUM, B.C. 407.

(Grote, lxiv.)

l. 39. **προ-πίνω**, 'to drink before another.' The Greek custom, when you asked another person to drink wine with you, was for you to *drink first* yourself and then pass the cup on to the person you pledged; hence **προ-πίνω** comes to mean 'to drink with another person,' 'pledge him.'

l. 40. **αὐτῷ**, 'to his health.'

ἤρετο, 2nd aor. from **ἔρομαι** or **ἐρωτάω**, 'to ask:' it must not be confounded with (1) **ἠρεῖτο**, impf. mid. of **αἱρέω**, 'to take,' (2) **ἦρτο**, impf. mid. of **αἴρω**, 'to raise,' (3) **ἠρᾶτο**, impf. of **ἀράομαι**, 'to pray.' It is connected with **ἐρῶ**, 'I will say,' and with Lat. 'v-*er*-bum,' Eng. 'w-*or*-d.' The present **ἔρομαι** is not used, the tense being supplied by **ἐρωτάω**.

l. 41. **εἶπεν ὅτι,—ὅτι** is used thus in Greek before a *direct* speech, though we use our corresponding word 'that' only before an *indirect*.[1] Both the Greek ὅτι and the English 'that' are really relatives, as 'he said [this], *that* (or which) follows.'

Εἰ . . προς-θείης, an elliptical sentence to be supplied from the preceding. It would be in full, [**Μάλιστα ἂν χαρίζοιό μοι,**] **εἰ . . . προσθείης**, 'you would gratify me most, if you were to add.'

ὀβολόν, the Greek coinage was more like the French than the English, so 1 obol = 3 half-pence; **τριώβολον** or 3 obols = half a franc (nearly), or 5*d.*; 6 obols = 1 drachma = 1 franc (nearly), or 10*d.*; 100 drachmae = 1 mina = 5 napoleons (of 16s. a-piece) = 4*l.*; 60 minae = 1 talent = 300 napoleons = 240*l.*

l. 44. **ἀθύμως εἶχον,—ἔχω** is often used intransitively, like Lat. 'se habere,' and in this sense is used with an adverb, so that **ἀθύμως εἶχον** is nearly = **ἀθυμοι ἦσαν**, but the former phrase involves more of a sense of condition, 'were in a desponding *state of mind*;' so **ὀλιγώρως εἶχον**, 'were careless,' l. 78. Cp. l. 110 n.

l. 52. **καθ-έλκω**, 'draw *down* to the sea,' 'launch,' Lat. 'deducere naves.' The Greeks did not generally moor their ships but drew them up like boats.

ἐδίωκεν: for the force of the *tense*, cp. l. 26 n.

l. 53. **τότε δὴ καί**, **δή** means 'surely' and emphasizes the **τότε**, 'then and not till then,' 'then in fine;' the **καί** properly belongs to **πάσας**, he started in pursuit and, *what's more*, put *all* his ships in line.

l. 56. **ἀν-άγομαι**, 'go *up* on the *high* seas,' 'put to sea.'

ἀν-οίγω, or **ἀν-οίγνυμι**, (**οἴγω**) 'to open,' then intrans. 'to get into the open sea,' 'get clear of land;' 1st aor. **ἤνοιξα**, or with double augment **ἀνέῳξα**, so impf. **ἤνοιγον** or **ἀνέῳγον**, see below l. 84.

l. 58. **ταῖς ναυσί**, 'with *their* ships:' the article being used for the possessive pronoun in Greek where there is no ambiguity, so in French 'je me suis blessé *la* main,' 'I have hurt *my* hand.' In Latin this would be expressed by 'navibus,' not 'suis navibus.' **διεσπαρμέναις** is here a predicate not an epithet: **ταῖς διεσπ. ναυσὶ** would mean 'their scattered ships,' but **διεσπ. ταῖς ναυσί** states the fact that 'their ships *were* scattered' when they fought.

μέχρι οὗ. The full construction would be **μέχρι τοῦ χρόνου ἐν ᾧ**, 'until that time in which,' then by attraction this is shortened into **μέχρι οὗ** [**χρόνου**]; **μέχρι**, 'as far as,' is connected with **μακρός**, 'long,' and is generally used as a preposition with the genitive.

l. 61. **στήσας**, in **ἵστημι** the present with impf., and future with 1st aor., are transitive; the 2nd aor. and perfect with pluperfect are intransitive.

8. THE BATTLE OF ARGINUSAE, B.C. 406.

(Grote, lxiv.)

l. 67. **ὁρμισάμενος . . . ἐπολιόρκει.** See note on the *tenses* in l. 26.

τὸν ἐκ-πλουν ἔχων, 'holding' or 'having command of the exit,' so as to keep them from sailing out; so **εἴργειν τοῦ εἰς-πλου**, 'to keep from sailing in,' l. 262.

[1] Therefore **ὅτι** must not be translated here at all.

l. 68. **δια-βιβάζω** is the transitive form of *διαβαίνω*, and means 'to *make* to go over,' 'transport.'

l. 72. **οὐδαμόθεν**; *-θεν* is the old termination of an ablative case and implies 'from,' as *-δε* implies 'to;' *οὐδ-αμόθι*, 'not even one,' is almost declined in adverbs, e.g. *οὐδαμόθι* or *οὐδαμοῦ*, 'nowhere;' *οὐδαμόθεν*, 'from no quarter;' *οὐδαμῇ*, 'in no way;' *οὐδαμόσε* or *οὐδαμοῖ*, 'to no place;' *οὐδαμῶς*, 'in no wise.' The two negatives **οὐκ** and **οὐδ-αμόθεν**, which in English would make an affirmative, in Greek only strengthen one another: so in early English, 'chance is nothing' is expressed by 'Hap *n*-ys *naught* in *no* wise;' so in Shakespeare, Falstaff says, 'I paid *nothing* for it *neither*.'

l. 78. **ἐφ-ορμοῦντες**. See l. 13 n.

ὀλιγώρως, (*ὀλίγος*, 'little,' *ὥρα*, 'care'). See note on *ἀθύμως εἶχον*, l. 44.

ἔνι-οι, like *εἰσὶν οἵ*, means 'there are who,' Lat. 'sunt qui,' 'some.'

l. 79. **ἐπὶ Ἑλλησπόντου**, 'on the line of the Hellespont,' 'in the direction of.' Compare our use of the preposition *on* in 'he marched straight *on* Paris.' *ἐπί* with the genitive is thus of *direction towards*, when we should rather expect the accusative of motion to; perhaps the distinction here is that the ships never meant to make for the Hellespont (*ἐφ' Ἑλλήσποντον*), but for Athens (*ἐπ' Ἀθήνας*), starting however on the line of the Hellespont.

l. 80. **ὥρμησεν**,—*ὁρμάω*, 'to hasten,' must not be confounded with *ὁρμέω*, 'to anchor;' *ὁρμέω* is only used in pres. and imperf., *ὁρμίζω* supplying the other tenses; cp. l. 13 n.

εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, 'on to the open sea,' i.e. westwards towards the Aegean.

l. 81. **ἔτυχον ἀριστο-ποιούμενοι**, (*ἄριστον*, 'breakfast'), 'were *just then* taking their breakfast,' as we say, 'they *happened* to be at breakfast;' *τυγχάνω* often implies 'at that moment,' rather than 'by chance:' in translating *τυγχάνω*, *λανθάνω* and *οἶχομαι* with participles, allowance must be made for the difference of the Greek and English idioms, cp. l. 31 n.

l. 89. **τὰ γεγενημένα**, 'what had taken place,' i.e. the course of events which led to the blockade.

l. 90. **ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν**, 'voted to send help,' i.e. to raise the blockade.

ταῖς συμ-πάσαις ναυσίν, 'with their whole navy.' Observe the usage of *πᾶς* with and without the article: *πᾶς ἀνήρ* or *πάντες ἄνδρες*, 'every man,' *πάντες οἱ ἄνδρες* or *οἱ ἄνδρες πάντες*, 'all *those* men;' but when the article is joined to *πᾶς* itself, it denotes 'the whole,' *οἱ πάντες ἄνθρωποι*, 'the *whole* world,' so here *αἱ σύμ-πασαι νῆες* or *αἱ πᾶσαι*, 'their *whole* fleet *without exception*.'

l. 92. **ἡλικία**, 'time of life,' (*ἥλιξ*, 'of the same age'), then 'manhood,' esp. 'the military age,' from eighteen to sixty, so that *οἱ ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὄντες* means 'those who were fit for service.'

l. 93. **ἀπ-αίρω**, 'to lift off,' 'remove:' hence sc. *τὰς ναῦς*, as if intrans., 'to sail away;' so in English, 'to put off' from shore.

l. 97. **ταῖς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν**, the article marks that it is not *merely* any 120 ships but '*the* remaining 120.'

l. 98. **ἄκρᾳ**, in apposition to **Μαλέᾳ**, 'which is a headland of Lesbos.' This Malea was the narrow strip of land or promontory south of Mytilene, called 'Malea of Lesbos,' to distinguish it from the more famous Malea, the S. E. point of Laconia.

l. 101. **τῆς νυκτός.** The genitive implies close connection, 'a part of,' 'within,' the dative accidental nearness 'at.' So here the genitive of time, '*in* the night,' cp. l. 204 *ὀψὲ τῆς ἡμέρας*, 'in the late part of the day,' 'late in the day.'

l. 105. **ἐπὶ δυοῖν [νεοῖν] τάσσειν**, 'to draw up in line on a base of two ships,' 'two deep,' so l. 107 *ἐπὶ μιᾶς*, 'in single file.' Compare *ἐπὶ κέρως*, 'on a horn,' i. e. 'in column,' as opposed to *ἐν μετώπῳ*, 'in line.'

l. 108. **δι-έκ-πλους**, 'sailing through the enemies' line.'

περί-πλους, sailing round the line, so as to attack the ships on the rear. Greek ships were chiefly used as 'rams;' the beaks were accordingly made very strong; it was of little use to charge 'beak to beak,' hence the great object of nautical manœuvres was to get at the sides or sterns of the enemies' vessels. **διὰ τὸ-βέλτιον-πλεῖν**, for article making infin. a noun: cp. on ii. 27.

l. 110. **καλῶς ἔχοι.** Greek and English verbs are often used both transitively and intransitively; so *ἔχω* means not only 'to hold' something, but to 'hold oneself,' esp. with adverbs, so *καλῶς ἔχει*, Lat. 'bene habet,' 'it holds well,' 'it is the best course,' cp. l. 44 n.

l. 112. **κάκιον** is the comparative of the adverb *κακῶς*, as *βέλτιον* of *καλῶς* above.

οἰκίζω, to 'build a house,' hence 'to people' with settlers: the words in direct speech were *ἡ Σπάρτη οὐδὲν κάκιον οἰκιεῖται ἐμοῦ ἀπο-θανόντος*. The general sense is 'that it would not make much difference in the census of Sparta if she had *one* citizen less,' i. e. 'that she would get on just as well without him.'—The death of Callicratidas was, however, an irreparable loss to Greece, if not to Sparta. He was a Grecian patriot, and would probably have made peace with Athens instead of crushing her, as the 'worst of the Greeks,' Lysander, did. Knowing that Persia wished to play the jackal's game, he did not wish that Sparta and Athens should play out the lion and tiger's part, and let Persia carry off the prey, which was no less than the empire of Eastern Greece.

l. 116. **ἐμ-βαλούσης**,—*βάλλω*, like *ἀπαίρω* (l. 93), and *ἔχω* (l. 110), is used intransitively, as in English, 'to dash;' so here 'as the ship had dashed on another ship,' or 'had charged.' Observe the force of the tense *ἐμ-βαλούσης*, (he fell overboard from the shock) *after* the ship had charged.

l. 117. **ἀ-φαν-ίζω**, (*ἀ, φαίνω*, 'to show,' *φαίνομαι*, 'to show oneself') 'to disappear,' hence *ἠφανίσθη* is a euphemism for 'he was drowned;' so in English, 'he was made away with,' or 'put out of the way,' is a milder way of saying that a man was killed: cp. note on *ἀπεσσούα*, l. 36.

ἐντεῦθεν, 'thereupon,' is formed from *ἔνθεν*, Lat. 'inde,' as *ἐνταῦθα*, 'there,' or 'then,' from *ἔνθα*, Lat. 'ibi:' cp. note on *οὐδαμό-θεν*, l. 72.

l. 120. **αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν**, 'with the men themselves,' i. e. 'crew and all:' except in idiomatic expressions with *αὐτός*, this use of the dative to imply accompaniment is marked by the preposition *σύν*.

l. 123. **ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς**, 'it seemed good to the commanders-in-chief,' i. e. 'they decreed:' by 'the commanders-in-chief' at Athens were meant ten officers elected every year to command the army and navy, and to act as a kind of *war-ministers at home;* they would answer to our War Office and Board of Admiralty.

l. 125. **κατα-δύω**, 'to sink,' or rather 'to water-log' or 'disable.' The

perfect and 2 aor. are intransitive, and mean 'to be water-logged.' As the ships had no ballast they did not go down; hence the crews are described as still clinging to them, or rather as still on board them, in *τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπους σώζειν*.

l. 126. **τὰς-μετ'-Ἐτεονίκου-τῇ-Μυτιλήνῃ-ἐφορμούσας**,—the article *τάς* binds this together as *one* word; everything which comes between the article *τάς* and what it agrees with (viz. *ναῦς*, which is understood after *ἐφορμούσας*) is considered as an epithet. After the death of Callicratidas, Conon was still blockaded by Eteonicus, the second in command.

l. 128. **μέγας γενόμενος**, '*because* it became violent,' Lat. 'quum magnus sit factus;' the participle *without* the article implying *cause:* whereas the participle *with* the article merely expresses a fact; so *ὁ γενόμενος μέγας* would be 'which became violent,' Lat. 'qui magnus factus est.' So in the next line, **βουλομένους** is '*though* they wished it,' Lat. 'quum vellent,' whereas *τοὺς βουλομένους* would be 'those who wished it,' Lat. 'eos qui volebant.'

l. 129. **στήσαντες**, cp. l. 61 n.

αὐτοῦ, an adverb, being properly a genitive, 'there,' 'on the spot,' Lat. 'illico.' Cp. *οὐδαμόθι* or *οὐδαμοῦ*, 'nowhere,' l. 72 n.

l. 130. **ἡ βουλή**, the Athenian 'senate' of 500 members, who were chosen by lot.

δι-ηγέομαι περί, 'to give full details about.'

l. 132. **ἐκκλησία**, (*ἐκ*, *καλέω*, 'to summon'), 'the great assembly of the citizens at Athens.' It would answer in its *powers* to our House of Commons, but, as the people themselves voted and not their representatives, in *numbers* it was a body of more than ten times the size of our lower House. In the New Testament the word is used for 'an assembly of Christians,' 'an Ecclesia' or 'Church,' whence our words 'ecclesiastic,' etc.

ἄλλοι τε καί, 'both others and,' 'others, and above all' Theramenes: so **ἄλλως τε καί**, 'both for other reasons and,' 'especially.'

l. 133. **κατ-ηγόρουν τῶν στρατηγῶν**: *κατά* here has the sense of 'down upon,' i.e. 'against;' so *κατα-ψηφίζομαι*, 'to vote *against*,' 'condemn,' l. 176.

διότι οὐκ ἀν-είλοντο, 'because they *had* not picked up;' the Greek aorist, when it occurs in a dependent sentence, must often be rendered in English by the plupf.; the reason of this is that in English we count time from the present, so we should say 'they accused the generals, because they *had* not picked the men up,' but a Greek would throw himself so much into the time he was speaking of, that he would say, 'they were accusing the generals, because they *did* not;' in fact, we should expect one of the accusers to use the aorist, and an historian to use the plupf., but a Greek historian throws himself for the moment into the position of the accusers, and uses the tense which they would have used.

l. 135. **ἀπο-λογίομαι**, 'to plead in defence;' so Plato's Defence of Socrates is called 'The Apology:' *ἀπό* implies 'from' or 'off,' in the same sense as we use 'to get a person *off*.'

ὅτι πλέοιεν, after a past tense *ὅτι* with optative marks the oratio obliqua.

l. 137. **προς-τάσσω**, 'to assign to,' hence with *τὴν ἀναίρεσιν*, 'deputed them to pick up the dead.'

l. 138. **εἴπερ ... ἀναιρέσεως**, 'if you must blame some one for [neglect-

ing] the rescue [of the shipwrecked men], then you have no one else to blame but . . . ;' the γε makes εἴπερ emphatic, 'if that is to say,' 'if really,' 'if, which I do not for a moment believe;' the optative also marks improbability, 'if it *were* necessary.'

l. 140. ὅτι γε, '*just* because,' 'for no other reason than because.'

l. 141. φάσκοντες, cp. l. 3 n.

l. 142. τὸ κωλῦσαν, Lat. 'id quod prohibuit.'

l. 143. μάρτυρας, being separated from *τοὺς κυβερνήτας*, has a predicative force, 'brought forward the pilots *as* witnesses.'

l. 145. τὸ μὲν πρῶτον,—the *μέν* is taken up by the δέ in *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα*.

ἔπειθον. Observe the force of the imperfect, they did not really persuade the people, but only 'seemed likely to persuade,' cp. l. 26 n.

l. 146. Ἀπατούρια, 'the Apaturia,' a great festival of the Athenians, when they had family gatherings, as we have at Christmas.

l. 147. σύν-εισι σφίσιν αὑτοῖς, 'are with themselves,' 'meet one another,' 'meet together,' cp. Lat. 'inter se.'

οἱ περὶ τὸν Θηραμένην, lit. 'those round Theramenes,' meaning, 'the party of Theramenes, *including* himself,' 'Theramenes and his party.'

l. 150. ὡς δή, 'as of course,' or 'as forsooth;' δή is often used, like Lat. 'scilicet,' in irony, so *al γυναῖκες* δή is used to describe 'men dressed up in women's clothes,' v. 145 n.

l. 151. ἔπεισαν . . . ἐποίουν,—the aorist describes 'the persuading' Callixenus as finished; the imperfect depicts the ecclesia as sitting, cp. l. 26 n.

l. 152. ἐκ-κλησίαν ποιεῖν,—ποιέω, to 'make' or 'produce' a result, so 'to perform' a ceremony, 'hold' a meeting, as we say of Parliament, 'to *make* a House.'

l. 153. εἰς ἣν ἡ βουλὴ εἰς-ήνεγκε τὴν ἑαυτῆς γνώμην,—the council or senate investigated all questions before they were discussed in the ecclesia, and passed resolutions (*προ-βουλεύμα-τα*) which only became statutes (*ψηφίσματα*) if passed by the ecclesia. So here 'the senate *brought in* their own *resolution* (*γνώμη*) as a bill *before the assembly*.'

l. 154. εἰπόντος, 'having proposed it,' or 'made a motion,' Lat. 'auctor factus est.'

ὅτι δέοι,—in past time the optative is used in Greek with ὅτι, where the accusative and infinitive would be used in Latin, to mark oblique oration.

κρίνειν, 'pass sentence on,' 'give a verdict on.'

l. 155. μιᾷ ψηφῷ,—his proposal was, that instead of putting the question 'guilty or not guilty?' about *each* commander separately, they should lump them all together in one vote, 'are *the generals* guilty?' Besides being obviously unfair, this was absolutely illegal, being expressly forbidden by a law called 'Cannonus' Act' (just as we call laws by the names of their proposers, e. g. 'Lord Campbell's Act,' etc.). So in English law, the question of 'guilty or not guilty?' must be put to the jury *separately* for *each* prisoner.

παρ-ῆλθε, *παρά* implies 'beside,' with accusative to come 'to' or 'before,' esp. 'to come *forward* to speak,' so here 'came into the assembly and spoke.'

φάσκων [*αὐτὸς*] σωθῆναι. The subject of the infinitive mood is often omitted in Greek where it is *the same as the subject of the verb* which governs

the infinitive mood. In cases where the subject is the same, the Greek construction differs from the Latin in two points, (1) the subject of inf. may be omitted, whereas 'se' could not be omitted in Latin, (2) if expressed it must be in the same case as the original subject, i. e. the nominative, whereas in Lat. it is in the accusative. So ἐφὴ οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνον στρατηγεῖν, 'he said that *he* was not general, but the other man was,' Lat. would be 'dixit non *seipsum*, illum contra imperare;' for examples in this book, cp. ll. 218, 289.

l. 156. **τοὺς δ' ἀπ-ολλυμένους**, κ. τ. λ., sc. *φάσκων*, 'he declared that the other drowning men were giving him special injunctions;' observe the tense in *ἀπολλυμένους*, only an Irishman could have used the aorist.

l. 157. **ἐὰν σωθῇ**. The conjunctive present being dramatically used instead of the past *εἰ σωθείη*. l. 160. **προς-καλέω**, Mid. 'summon.'

l. 158. **τοὺς-ἀρίστους-ὑπὲρ-τῆς-πατρίδος-γενομένους**, 'those who had showed themselves,' etc., cp. l. 126 n.

l. 162. **πλῆθος** (*πολύς*), 'the many,' 'the popular party,' called properly *ὁ δῆμος, the commons, plebs;* improperly called *ὄχλος*, 'the mob,' below, to throw contempt on them. **συγ-γράφω**, 'to write' or 'draw up a form of motion' or 'bill' to be submitted to a vote. **παρά-νομος**, 'contrary to the law.' To propose a bill which was against the provisions of an existing act, without first stating that it was so, and proposing the repeal of the other act, made a man liable to severe penalties. He could be indicted by a *παρανόμων γραφή*, or 'indictment for acting unconstitutionally.'

δεινὸν ... βούληται, 'that it was a monstrous thing to stop the sovereign people from having their own way,' as some one (*τις*, i. e. Euryptolemus and his friends) did by asking them to obey their own laws. There is a touch of sarcasm in the sentence. Xenophon was a high Tory, and delights in having a hit at the democracy.

l. 163. **πρύτανις** (*πρό*), 'a foreman,' 'deputy,' or 'committee-man.' There were ten tribes; fifty deputies from each made up the council of five hundred. Each tribe had its turn of *πρυτανεία*, or presidency of the *βουλή*, lasting one-tenth of the year, during which time their deputies, called *πρυτάνεις*, were a kind of standing committee, in fact, almost the Executive or government of the day, holding cabinet councils, and so forth.

l. 164. **προ-τίθημι**, 'put forward,' 'propose,' 'put' to the vote. The *πρύτανις* of the day acted as the Speaker in our House of Commons, and was the only person who might 'put the question.'

δια-ψήφισις, 'a decision by vote,' 'the question' proposed.

l. 165. **ἀνα-βαίνω** [*ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα*], 'to go up' [to the tribune or raised platform for addressing the assembly], 'to rise to speak.'

καὶ τούτους ... στρατηγούς, 'he proposed that the prytanes too should be impeached by the same vote by which they impeached the generals.'

τῇ αὐτῇ ... ᾗπερ, Lat. 'eodem suffragio quo.'

l. 167. **ἐπι-θορυβέω**, 'to make a noise (*θόρυβος*) at,' here, of *applause*, 'to cheer,' Lat. 'ac-clamare.'

l. 168. **προ-θήσειν**, 'put the question,' cp. above, l. 164.

πλὴν Σωκράτους,—this was not the only occasion on which Socrates withstood the threats of those in power: cp. Historical Note at the end of notes on Section ii. The stubborn simplicity of the reply, 'I will do nothing against the law,' was eminently characteristic of the philosopher.

l. 172. **ζημιοῦν**, from the old form of the infinitive *-εν* instead of *-ειν*: *ζημιό-ειν* would have made *ζημιοῖν*. So we have *τιμᾶν* from *τιμά-εν*, whereas *τιμά-ειν* would make *τιμᾷν*.

πειθομένους, '*through* obeying:' cp. note on *μέγας γενόμενος*, l. 128.

l. 173. **γράφω**, 'to put in writing,' 'propose' in due form. **γνώμη** (*γιγνώσκω*, 'to judge'), here in its technical sense, one's deliberate judgment expressed in a 'motion.'

l. 175. **δια-χειρο-τονία**, 'a stretching out (*τείνω*) of hands on different sides (*διά*), i.e. 'for and against the motion,' hence 'a division.' **κρίνω**, prop. 'to separate,' 'then pick out,' 'choose,' 'prefer,' 'decide in favour of:' hence, as we should speak of the proposer '*carrying*' his *γνώμη* (i.e. *across* all opposition), 'the resolution of the upper house was *carried*.'

l. 177. **ἀπο-θνήσκω**, often pass. of *ἀπο-κτείνω*, 'to be put to death.'

l. 178. **μετ-έμελε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις**, Lat. 'poenitebat Athenienses:' *μετὰ* implies 'change,' as in *μετά-νοια*, 'change of mind,' 'repentance,' '*meta*morphosis,' etc.

l. 179. **προβολαί**, plur. (*προ-βάλλω*, 'to put forward a person's name for accusation'), 'a vote ordering that a man should be publicly prosecuted,' Lat. 'prae-judicium,' hence 'a vote ordering an impeachment.' It might be compared to a presentment of the grand jury at assizes.

ἐξ-απατάω, 'to deceive,' 'cajole' the house into condemning the innocent.

l. 180. **προ-εβλήθησαν**, see note on *προβολαί*, l. 179.

l. 183. **κατ-ελθών**, 'came *back* (*κατά*) from exile:' cp. *τοὺς φύγαδας καθ-εῖναι*, l. 298, *κατά* adds force of 'back,' i.e. 'home from exile.'

4. THE BATTLE OF AEGOSPOTAMI, B.C. 405.

(Grote, lxv.)

l. 187. **προσ-βάλλω**, sc. *ἑαυτούς*, 'throw themselves against,' 'attack,' cp. 116, *ἐμβαλούσης τῆς νεώς*.

l. 188. **κατὰ κράτος**, 'according to force,' i.e. 'by storm.'

l. 190. **κατὰ πόδας**, 'along the tracks of,' 'in full pursuit of;' *αὐτῶν* must be supplied; cp. Thuc. v. 65 *ἴέναι κατὰ πόδας αὐτῶν εἰς Τεγέαν*. So in English, 'follow him *at foot*.' Hamlet, iv. 3.

l. 192. **ἐνταῦθα δή**, 'when they were already *there*,' Lat. 'hic jam:' the *δή* emphasizes the *ἐνταῦθα*.

l. 193. **τὰ περὶ Λάμψακον**, 'the [news] about Lampsacus,' i.e. 'the taking of Lampsacus.'

l. 194. **ἐπι-σιτίζομαι**, 'to furnish *oneself* with food' (*σῖτος*), to 'take in provisions.'

l. 195. **Αἰγὸς ποταμούς**, 'the goat's river,' 'Aegos-potami.'

δι-έχω, trans. 'to keep *apart*,' Lat. 'distinere,' *διά* having the sense of division: here it is intransitive, 'to stand apart,' 'be so many furlongs wide.'

l. 198. **ὄρθρος**, (*ὀρ-νυμι*, Lat. 'or-ior,' *ὀρθός*, 'upright'), 'rising' of sun, 'daybreak.'

σημαίνω, (*σῆμα*, 'a sign'), 'to give the signal,' 'give orders.'

l. 199. **ἀριστο-ποιησαμένους**,—the force of the aorist would be expressed in Latin by 'postquam prandium curavissent:' cp. l. 133 n.

l. 200. **ὡς εἰς ναυμαχίαν**, i. e. *ὡς ναυμαχήσων*, *ὡς* expressing the motive, 'intending to be ready for.'

προ-εῖπεν, 'give *public* (*πρό*) orders,' 'proclaim.'

l. 203. **μέτωπον**, (*μετά*, *ὤψ*), 'the middle of the face,' 'the forehead;' hence *ἐν μετώπῳ*, 'front-wise,' 'in line,' as opposed to *ἐπὶ κέρως*, 'in column,' i. e. two or four abreast. Cp. note on vi. 254.

l. 204. **ὀψὲ τῆς ἡμέρας**, see on *τῆς νυκτός*, l. 101 n.

l. 207. **ἐκ-βαίνω**, 'to disembark:' so in l. 208, **ἐκ-βιβάζω**, the causal or transitive form of *ἐκ-βαίνω*, 'to make to go out,' 'disembark.'

κατ-ιδόντας, agreeing with *τοὺς ναύτας*, understood in *τὰς ταχίστας τῶν νεῶν* above. *κατά* strengthens the verb; *ἰδεῖν*, 'to see,' **κατ-ιδεῖν**, 'to *notice* what one sees:' so **κάτ-οιδα**, 'I know *well*.'

l. 209. **ἧκον**, '*bad* come;' *ἥκω* like *οἴχομαι* has the sense of a *perfect*.

l. 210. **ἐπ-αν-άγομαι**,—*ἐπί* has the force of 'against them,' *ἀνά* of 'out to sea.'

l. 211. **ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν**, 'from his (private) fort.' *τείχη* is used in plural of a single fort, like Lat. 'moenia,' 'sedes,' 'tecta,' etc. It had been one of the charges against Alcibiades, that he had built private fortifications for himself in the Chersonese, as if he meant to act treacherously, and then shelter himself there from the vengeance of the Athenians.

l. 212. **αἰγιαλός**, 'sea shore' or 'open beach,' as opposed to *ἐν λιμένι*.

πρὸς . . . πόλει. The meaning of prepositions is modified by the cases to which they are attached. So **πρός** is a stronger form of *πρό* and means 'in front,' but the accusative adds its own meaning of 'to' or 'with reference to;' the genitive 'from' and the dative 'at.' So here *πρὸς πόλει* means 'in front of' or 'hard by a city.'

l. 216. **μεθ-ορμίσαι**. *μετά* implies change: see above, l. 178 n.

l. 217. **οὗ ὄντες**, Lat. 'ubi quum sitis.'

l. 218. **αὐτοὶ . . . ἐκεῖνον**,—see on *φάσκων σωθῆναι*, l. 155 n.

l. 220. **κατὰ τὴν Χερρόνησον**,—*κατά*, 'down:' then, as accusative conveys the idea of 'along,' 'up and down,' 'all over the Chersonese.'

l. 221. **καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν**,—*κατά* with acc. meaning 'along,' comes to mean 'according to;' so *κατὰ φῦλα*, 'according to tribes,' with a distributive sense 'tribe by tribe;' so here, 'day by day,' more and more each day.

l. 222. **δή**, 'already,' 'in fine.'

τοῦ Λυσάνδρου,—the article adds the force of '*this* Lysander,' the one mentioned above, hence it is generally only used with proper names where a man has been mentioned before. The genitive follows *κατα-φρονέω*, 'to look down upon,' as it does *κατ-ηγορέω* above, l. 133.

l. 224. **τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἑπομένοις**,—*παρά* means 'beside,' the genitive adds the force of 'from:' so *παρ' αὐτοῦ* means 'from beside him,' i. e. those whom he sent *from his own side* to follow the Athenians and see what they did.

l. 226. **τὸ ἔμπαλιν**, (*πάλιν*, 'again'), 'the reverse way,' 'back.'

ἆραι ἀσπίδα. The same signal was used by traitors after Marathon, to induce the Persians to send their fleet round to Athens before the army returned: but Miltiades saw the unwonted sight of the flashing of the

polished steel on the summit of Mount Pentelicus, and marched the same night to the city.

l. 228. **τὴν ταχίστην**, sc. **ὁδόν**, 'the quickest way,' 'as quickly as possible.'

l. 229. **κατὰ κράτος**, 'according to force,' i.e. 'with might and main:' cp. l. 188 n.

l. 231. **δί-κροτος**, (**κροτέω**, 'to strike'), 'doubly beating,' hence 'double-oared,' i.e. 'with *only two* banks of oars manned on each side,' whereas a trireme had *three* banks of oars one above the other. So **μονόκροτος**, 'with only *one* bank of oars manned on each side.'

l. 232. **ἄλλαι . . . καί**, 'others (which I need not name) and:' **ἄλλως τε καί** often means 'especially.'

l. 233. **Πάρ-αλος** (**παρά**, **ἅλς**), 'naval,' then **ἡ Πάραλος** (**ναῦς**), 'the Admiralty yacht,' the name of one of the two Athenian galleys for state-service. After the battle the Paralus is sent home with the news: cp. l. 238.

l. 236. **ταῖς ἐννέα ναυσί**, '*bis* nine ships.'

ἔγνω, 'perceived,' **γιγνώσκω**, 'to learn,' 'perceive,' must be distinguished from **οἶδα**, as the French 'connaître' from 'savoir.'

l. 237. **δι-εφθαρμένα**, 'ruined,' 'lost.'

Εὐαγόραν,—Evagoras was a prince of Salamis in Cyprus. Conon took refuge with him because he did not choose to go home after such a defeat. The history of Conon shows how important a general's life is, and how foolish it is of commanders to throw away their lives even in a defeat. Conon's escape after Aegospotami enabled the Athenians to win the great naval victory at Cnidus ten years afterwards: in fact he was the one man who made a revival of Athenian power possible: cp. Historical Introduction to Section iv. Contrast with this the rash charge of Cyrus at Cunaxa, which made his victory useless, and the desperate attack of Pelopidas on the tyrant of Thessaly, which deprived Thebes of the life of one of the two great men on whom her greatness rested.

l. 238. **ἀπ-αγγελοῦσα**, Lat. 'nunciatura,' 'ut nunciaret.'

l. 241. **Πειραιεύς**, **έως**, acc. **ᾶ**, 'the Piraeus,' the chief harbour of Athens, joined to it by the long walls.

διὰ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν,—**διά** means 'through,' and the genitive 'from,' 'out of:' so we get a compound meaning of 'out through,' 'right through and out at other end.' The long walls were two parallel walls which joined the city of Athens (**ἄστυ**) to its harbour, the Piraeus.

l. 242. **ὁ ἕτερος τῷ ἑτέρῳ παρ-αγγέλλων**,—the nominativus pendens or absolute, in a kind of opposition to **ἡ οἰμωγὴ διῆκεν**, as if it had been 'men groaned—one telling it to the other.'

l. 243. **κοιμάω**, act. 'to put to sleep,' pass. 'to go to sleep:' the word **κοιμητήριον**, 'a sleeping room,' was used by the early Christians for 'burial-place,' hence our word 'cemetery.'

ll. 244, 245. **πενθοῦντες . . . νομίζοντες**,—observe the change from singular to plural, and from negative to positive: **οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐκοιμήθη**, **πενθοῦντες**, i.e. **πάντες γὰρ ἐπένθουν**.

l. 245. **ἑαυτούς**, sc. **πενθοῦντες**.

ἐποίησαν,—for the quasi-pluperfect use of the aorist here, 'had done,' see

note on **διότι οὐκ ἀνείλοντο**, l. 133 n. Observe the double accusative after **ποιέω**, 'to do anything to anyone.'

l. 246. **Μηλίους**,—the Athenians took Melos (a Spartan colony in the Aegean) by blockade, and treated the inhabitants with most unjustifiable cruelty, in the second period of the Peloponnesian War, B.C. 416.

l. 248. **ἀπο-χώννυμι**, 'to cut off by a mound,' 'block up.'

εὐτρεπίζειν, (**εὖ**, **τρέπω**, 'to turn'), 'to put straight,' i.e. 'repair the breaches.'

l. 251. **ἀφ-εστήκει**,—**ἵστημι** means 'to place,' **ἕστηκα**, 'I have placed myself,' 'I stand,' intrans. but with a present force; hence **εἱστήκειν** means not 'I had stood' but 'I was standing,' so **ἀφ-εστήκει**, 'began to stand aloof' or 'revolt.'

l. 252. **γνώριμοι**, (**γιγνώσκω**), 'well known,' 'distinguished,' **οἱ γν.** the 'notables' or 'nobles,' as opposed to the **δῆμος**.

l. 254. **Ἄγις**, one of the two kings of Sparta.

l. 255. **Δεκέλεια**,—the fort which the Spartans had built in Attica, by the advice of Alcibiades, that they might overrun the country.

προς-πλεῖ, historic present dramatically put for **προς-πλέοι**.

l. 256. **πανδημεί**, an adv. in meaning, like the dative **πανδημίᾳ**, **παν στρατιᾷ**, 'with all their forces.'

l. 258. **τοῦ ἑτέρου**, 'the other of the two' kings; for the kings of Sparta, cp. Historical Introduction to the 4th Division of Section iv.

l. 259. **ἀνα-λαμβάνω**, to 'take up' or 'into one's hands,' 'to take with one;' hence the aor. part., often = Eng. 'with.'

l. 260. **Ἀκαδήμεια** (from the hero Academus), a gymnasium or school in the suburbs of Athens. Afterwards Plato taught here, and Plato's followers were called Academics.

l. 261. **πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ**, 'off Piraeus.' Cp. l. 212; here the accusative implies motion 'to.'

l. 264. **ἠπόρουν τί χρὴ ποιεῖν**,—the present **χρή** is dramatically put for the past **χρείη**. **χρὴ** is **χρεία ἐστίν**, **χρείη** is **χρεία εἴη**.

l. 265. **σωτηρίαν τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν**, Lat. 'ne paterentur.'

l. 267. **ἀπο-θνησκόντων**, Lat. 'quanquam multi moriebantur;' cp. note on participles, l. 128.

l. 269. **ἐπι-λείπω**, 'to leave anything behind,' or conversely of a thing 'failing' a person, Lat. 'deficio,' hence simply 'to fail,' intr.

l. 270. **ἔχοντες**, Lat. 'si tenerent,' 'on condition that they were allowed to hold.' Compare the conditional force of the participle in **οὔ ὄντες**, l. 217.

l. 271. **τὰ τείχη**, 'the long walls:' cp. l. 241 n.

l. 273. **ἥκειν κάλλιον βουλευσαμένους**,—observe the force of the tense, 'to come when they had,' i.e. 'not to come till they had taken better counsel.' **κάλλιον** is comparative of adv. **καλῶς**.

l. 276. **τῷ λιμῷ**, '*the* famine' which had been already described as carrying off many victims in l. 267.

l. 278. **συμ-βουλεύω**,—**βουλεύω**, 'to deliberate,' **σύν** adds the force of 'with others;' hence 'to advise' or 'propose in the assembly,' Lat. 'auctor sententiae esse.'

l. 283. **βουλόμενοι**, 'with the wish,' Lat. 'ex eo quod vellent:' cp. l. 128 n.

l. 285. **παρὰ Λυσάνδρῳ**,—*παρά* meaning 'beside,' and dative having force of 'at' or 'near,' *παρά* with dat. means 'with' or 'at the house of,' Lat. 'apud,' Fr. 'chez.'

ὁ-πότε. **ὅτε**, 'when,' 'quum,' 'at the same time as.' **πότε**, 'when?' direct interrogative, Lat. 'quando.' **ὁ-ποτε**, 'when,' indirect interrogative, 'waiting (to see) when:' it is also used for 'whenever' with the optative.

l. 288. **τέως**, demonstrative of **ἕως** ('as long'), 'so long,' then 'for some time.' So we have **τότε**, 'then,' **ὅτε**, 'when.'

l. 289. **οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος**, '(saying) that he was not master of these things'—'had not power to settle these matters.' Cp. note on *φάσκων σωθῆναι*, l. 155 n.

l. 290. **ἔφορος**, (*ἐφ-οράω*), 'an overseer:' at Sparta 'the Ephors' were the five magistrates who controlled all the rest, even the two kings. So in the oligarchy at Venice, the Council of Ten kept even the Doge, or Duke, himself in order. Cp. Hist. Introd., iii. 4 (p. 49).

l. 291. **αἱρέω**, 'to take;' mid. always 'to take for oneself,' 'choose;' passive sometimes referring to the act. sense, 'to be taken' (in which sense *ἁλίσκομαι* is more often used), sometimes to the sense of the middle, 'to be chosen.'

αὐτο-κράτωρ, (*κράτος*), 'himself with power,' 'with full' or 'independent power to act without reference to the home authorities,' a 'plenipotentiary.'

l. 292. **δέκατος αὐτός**, himself the tenth, the Greek way of expressing 'himself with nine others.'

Σελλασία, on the borders of Laconia.

l. 293. **εἶπον ὅτι**, sc. *ἥκοιεν*.

l. 296. **ἐπὶ τῷ**,—**ἐπί** meaning 'upon,' and dative implying 'rest at,' **ἐπί** with dative means 'resting on basis of,' hence often 'on terms of,' of an agreement 'based on certain conditions.'

l. 298. **καθ-ίημι**,—*κατά* means 'down,' then 'back,' so here 'to bring back the exiles,' i. e. allow them to return: **κάθ-οδος** was the regular term for the return of exiles. As Greek wars were generally political, the 'opposition' were generally exiled in time of war, and were brought back by the conquerors in case of success: so here the aristocratical party return, and with the help of Sparta overthrow the democracy, establishing the Thirty Tyrants: see Hist. Introd. to next Section.

τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν καὶ φίλον νομίζοντας, 'have the same enemies and friends (as the Spartans),' i. e. 'conclude an offensive and defensive alliance,' in this case as subjects, not as equals.

l. 303. **ἄπρακτοι**, Lat. 're infectâ.'

l. 304. **ἐν-εχώρει**,—*ν* before gutturals or throat sounds (*κ*, *γ*, *χ*), is changed into *γ*, hence this comes from *ἐγ-χωρέω*, 'to give room,' then **ἐγχωρεῖ**, impers., 'it is possible,'—Lat. 'neque enim fieri poterat ut diutius morarentur.'

l. 305. **ἐφ' οἷς**, Lat. 'quibus conditionibus:' see note on **ἐπὶ τῷ**, l. 296.

l. 306. **τὴν εἰρήνην**, '*the* peace' proposed above, l. 296.

προ-ηγόρει,—*πρό* means 'in front of,' hence 'in defence of,' 'in behalf

of;' hence when compounded with ἀγορεύω, 'to speak,' 'advocated acceptance of the propositions they brought.'

l. 308. περι-αιρέω, 'take away the walls *all round*.'

l. 310. κατα-πλέω,—κατά means 'down,' so here 'down from high seas,' 'into port.'

l. 311. εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, 'into the harbour;' hitherto he had only been πρὸς τὸν Π., 'off the Piraeus:' cp. l. 261.

l. 312. ὑπ' αὐλητρίδων,—ὑπό, 'under,' then with genitive, 'from under;' here, as we say 'under a person's rule,' 'to the tune given by.'

SECTION II.

THE ATHENIAN REVOLUTION.

B.C. 404—403.

1. THE OVERTHROW OF THE DEMOCRACY.

(Grote, lxv, Student's Greece, pp. 373–380, Smith's smaller Hist., xiv.)

l. 1. **ἡ ὀλιγ-αρχία**, 'the rule of a few,' the hated 'oligarchical government,' or 'aristocracy,' which supplanted the old *δημοκρατία*, or 'popular government' of Athens. By the old constitution *every citizen* could vote in the Assembly (slaves and foreigners could not). This constitution had lasted, with the exception of one brief interval (cp. l. 78 n.), uninterruptedly for 100 years. Now all the powers of an Assembly, composed of 10,000 citizens, pass into the hands of Thirty of the partisans of Sparta.

ἔδοξε τῷ δημῷ, lit. 'it seemed good to the Commons,' i.e. 'they decreed.' By *ὁ δῆμος* is meant the popular Assembly or Ecclesia.

Lysander, the Spartan general, was present and forced the Athenians to pass the resolution by which the Assembly ceased to exist till it was restored by Thrasybulus (l. 330).

ἑλέσθαι,—*αἱρέ-ω* means, 'I take;' *αἱρέ-ομαι*, 'I take for myself,' 'choose:' passive sometimes referring to the active sense 'to be taken' (in which sense *ἁλίσκομαι* is generally used), more often to the sense of the middle 'to be chosen.'

l. 2. **συγ-γράφειν τοὺς νόμους**, like Lat. 'con-scribere,' 'to write the laws together, in one code or systematic order,' 'draw up a code of laws,' i.e. 'frame a new constitution.' So at Rome the decemvirs were appointed to 'codify the laws,' and usurped the whole power as the Thirty Tyrants did.

l. 6. **ὡς ἐδόκει**, 'as they felt inclined *in each case*.' Contrast the aorist **ἔδοξε** (l. 1.) of a *single* action with the imperfect here of a *course of* action.

l. 7. **ὑπ-άγω θανάτου** [*ὑπὸ τὸ δικαστήριον*], lit. 'bring a culprit under [the court] for death,' i.e. 'impeach on a capital charge.' *θανάτου* being the genitive of close connection, 'concerning death,' a meaning of the genitive which is often marked by *περί*, Lat. 'de.'

l. 8. **συκοφαντία**, 'making false (or frivolous) accusations against people,' 'carrying on the trade of informers.' Our word sycophant has come to mean rather 'a flatterer' than 'an informer.' The derivation is from *σῦκον* and *φαίνω*, probably to 'show figs' concealed under the leaves; hence, to point out rich men, whose property might be confiscated.

ζῶντας, the Greeks use the participle after 'verba sentiendi,' to express a *fact*; so *οἶδα αὐτὸν ζῶντα* would be 'I know *that* he *is* living.' The in-

finitive is used for 'I know *how*;' so οἶδα ζῆν would be 'I know how to live.'

l. 8. τοῖς καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς, 'the noble and brave (or good),' i.e. 'the upper classes,' as opposed to mechanics or traders and the democratical party generally. The question-begging epithet is the natural expression of an oligarchical writer.

The bias of Xenophon in favour of the aristocratical party already appears here. What he describes as only clearing off some of the worst elements of the democracy was in fact a proscription, in which some of the generals and all the chief leaders of the democratical party were included. For the bias of Xenophon's writing see below, note at end of Section iv.

l. 9. βαρύς, 'heavy to bear,' hence with ὤν, 'oppressing.'

ἡδέως, 'sweetly,' i.e. 'with pleasure,' 'gladly.'

l. 10. κατ-εψηφίζετο αὐτῶν, i.e. ἐψηφίζετο [θάνατον] κατ' αὐτῶν. Observe the imperfect '*kept* passing sentences of death against them.' κατά means 'down' and the genitive implying close connection of any kind, ('of,' 'in,' or 'on,') is used after several compounds of κατά, with the combined sense of 'down on,' as we say 'to come *down upon* a person,' hence 'against,' e.g. κατ-ηγορέω, 'to speak against,' 'accuse;' κατα-φρονέω, 'to feel contempt for.'

l. 11. βουλ-εύ-εσθαι, βουλ-εύ-ω, 'to give counsel (to others),' mid. 'to take counsel (for oneself),' must be carefully distinguished from βούλ-ομαι, 'to wish,' so, in l. 12, ὅπως βούλοιντο is 'as they might wish,' i.e. 'arbitrarily.' ὅπως ἂν ἐξείη, the direct question which they put themselves was πῶς ἂν ἐξείη, 'how would it be possible?' ὅπως marks that the question is put *indirectly*.

l. 12. χράομαι, 'I use,' often has the sense of 'I treat,' e.g. φιλικῶς χρ. τινι, 'I treat some one in a friendly manner.' It is followed by the dative, as 'utor' in Latin by the ablative.

l. 13. Λύσανδρος. Lysander, though not king, had been the successful commander-in-chief of the Spartans: he had given Athens the final defeat at Aegos-potami, and had afterwards taken the city. He had overthrown the democracies, or popular governments, in the Greek cities, and established oligarchies, or governments of the few, in which the power was generally placed in the hands of ten of the richest men. These governments were so arbitrary and so unpopular that they had to be supported by a governor and a garrison sent out from Sparta, who kept the cities under the thumb of Sparta. Lysander gained enormous influence in Greece by these arrangements. and as he was of the royal family he intrigued to be made king. Hence it was that he aroused the jealousy of Pausanias.

l. 15. φρουρ-ός, 'a guard,' but φρουρ-ά (in l. 16), collective, 'the body of guards,' 'the garrison.' It is contracted from προ-ορός, (cp. οὖρος Ἀχαιῶν, 'guardian of the Greeks'), as φροῦδος, 'disappeared,' from πρὸ ὁδοῦ.

l. 16. ἁρμοστής, (ἁρμόζω, 'I arrange'), 'an arranger,' the technical title of a Spartan 'governor.'

l. 19. χαλεπῶς φέρω, 'to bear ill,' 'dislike,' 'have a grudge against.'

l 21. μέν, 'on the one hand,' prepares the reader for a δέ, 'on the other hand;' μέν marks that this sentence is merely prefatory or introductory to ἔπειτα δέ, κ.τ.λ. The joint effect of μέν and δέ here might be expressed

by '*though* they were friends at first, *yet* afterwards.' So l. 22, **αὐτὸς μὲν ἐβούλετο . . . ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης**, '*while* or *whereas* Critias was inclined for severity, Theramenes began to oppose him.'

οὖν, 'certainly then,' confirming what precedes, and continuing the narrative, 'so,' 'accordingly.'

The various particles are one of the great beauties of the Greek language: the Greeks treat a subject as an artistic whole; the particles weld the different parts together and show their relation to this whole. English sentences generally follow one another without any such links of connection, and the reader has to find out for himself whether one sentence confirms another or limits it. Observing the usage of the Greek particles will thus teach the analysis of English paragraphs. This analysis is not only necessary for reading English intelligently, but is also indispensable for writing Latin prose.

l. 22. **ἀπο-κτείναν**, 'to kill off,' especially of judges, 'to condemn to death,' 'put to death.'

l. 23. **ἅτε**, literally, 'which [things he did],' then with part. '*as* having been exiled by,' etc.

καί,—care must be taken in distinguishing between the uses of **καί**, (1) 'and,' coupling words or sentences, (2) 'also,' or 'even,' emphasizing single words or expressions; so here, 'Critias was inclined for severity [not merely on public grounds, but] *also* because he had been banished by them:' the **καί** in fact introduces the new and special motive of revenge: we might render it by 'as having been *actually* exiled by.'—Nothing makes greater nonsense of a Greek sentence than to confound the different uses of **καί**: cp. l. 25 n.

φυγὼν ὑπό,—**φεύγειν**, 'to fly,' has the technical meaning of 'to be exiled;' hence, though active in form, it is followed by **ὑπό**, which generally marks the *agent* after a passive verb, like 'ab' in Latin.

l. 24. **ἀντι-κόπτω**, (Fr. *couper*, Eng. 'cut'), 'to beat against,' 'come into collision with,' 'check,' especially of an adverse wind (cp. l. 85).

l. 26. **καὶ γάρ**, lit. 'and [it is so] for,' 'aye for.'

ἐγώ τε καὶ σύ, 'both I and you,' i. e. 'you as well as I.'

l. 27. **πολλὰ δή**,—**δή** emphasizes **πολλά**, '*full* many.'

καὶ . . . καί, 'both . . . and,' Lat. 'cum . . . tum.'

τοῦ-ἀρέσκειν ἕνεκα, 'for the sake of pleasing,' 'to curry favour with.' **ἕνεκα**, like Lat. 'causâ,' follows its case. The article with the infinitive marks that the verb is used as a gerund or substantive: so l. 88, **διὰ τὸ-εὐμετάβολος-εἶναι**, and **ὑπὸ τοῦ-πλείστους-ἐξ-ὀλιγαρχίας-ὑπὸ-τοῦ-δήμου-ἀπολωλέναι**.

l. 29. **πλεονεκτεῖν**, (**πλέον ἔχω**), 'to have more (than one's share),' 'get an advantage,' especially, 'get the chief power.'

ποιεῖσθαι ἐκποδών, 'to put away from one's feet,' 'put out of the way.'

l. 31. **χρῆναι**, from impers. **χρή**, 'it is needful,'—'if you think it is less necessary for us.'

l. 34. **ἀπο-θνήσκειν**, serves as passive of **ἀπο-κτείνω** (l. 22): so here it is not merely 'to die,' but 'to be put to death.'

l. 35. **ἐθαύμαζον**, 'wondering what the constitution was going to be,' or 'what was going to become of it,' i.e. were *questioning* the proceedings

of the Thirty, who, though only appointed as temporary commissioners to frame a constitution, were acting as if they were a permanent government.

l. 37. **τὰ πράγματα**, 'the affairs,' 'the government.'

l. 38. **μέν-τοι**, two particles combined often have a new sense; so here **μέν** is 'indeed,' (being used in its simple sense as a weaker form of **μήν**, 'doubtless,' and not as answering to **δέ**); and **τοι** means, 'let me tell you;' but **μέντοι** has the sense of 'however,' or 'as a matter of fact.' Though Critias disagreed with Theramenes, *yet, as a matter of fact*, he followed his advice.

l. 40. **κατα-λέγω**, lit. 'lay down,' then 'pick out,' 'make a list of.'

τοὺς μεθ-ἕξοντας δή. The particle **δή** means 'assuredly,' 'then since he asked for it.' Often there is an implied idea of irony; so in the account of the conspiracy at Thebes, **τὰς γυναῖκας δή**, 'the women since they asked for them,' means 'the pretended women' who were really armed men, v. 145 n.

l. 41. **αὖ** means 'back,' 'again,' then, as 'again' is connected with 'against,' it comes to mean 'on the contrary,' i. e. 'in answer.'

πρὸς ταῦτα, 'in reference to this,' i. e. 'he had a reply ready to meet this move too.'

l. 42. **ἑαυτῷ γε**,—**γε**, 'at least,' 'at any rate,' lays an emphasis on the single word **ἑαυτῷ**: it may often be expressed in English by merely *emphasizing* the word either by underlining it in writing or laying an accent on it in speaking. Theramenes said that [whatever the views of the Thirty were] '*his* view was that Critias was trying to combine two most incompatible things.'

l. 44. **ἧττονα**, κ. τ. λ.;—3000 being after all but a small part of the total number of citizens, the government, though still avowedly arbitrary and unpopular, would yet not be supported by a force equal to the number of those over whom they proposed to tyrannize. In consequence of this criticism, the Thirty resort to the expedient of disarming all but the 3000.

l. 46. **ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου**, 'not in the list [of the 3000],' i. e. 'the rest of the citizens.'

ἄλλων ἀλλαχοῦ, lit. 'others otherwhere,' i.e. 'some in one place, some in another.'

l. 47. **ἐν ᾧ** [**χρόνῳ**], ['in the time] in which,' 'while.'

l. 48. **ὁμο-γνώμων**, (**ὁμός**, 'uniform,' **γνώμη**, 'sentiments'), 'agreeing with,' 'favouring' themselves, i. e. 'of their own party.'

l. 49. **παρ-είλοντο**,—**παρά** with the middle implies 'to one's own side,' 'removed to a place under their own protection,' 'secured.'

l. 50. **τὴν ἀκρό-πολιν**, the **ἄκρα πόλις**, or 'higher city,' of Athens—a steep fortified hill commanding the rest of the city: it was on this the Spartan guards were posted to hold it for the Thirty.

l. 51. **ὁ ναός**, the temple of Athene on the acropolis. Cp. l. 329.

ὡς ἐξ-όν, lit. 'as [they thought] it was possible for them,' i. e. 'since they could now.'

l. 54. **καὶ τοῖς φρουροῖς**, 'the [Spartan] garrison,' which they had promised to maintain (l. 14). The **καί** implies it was a *new* expense, for the guards *too* [as well as for themselves and their supporters].

l. 55. **ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς**, 'it seemed good to them,' esp. like Lat. 'placuit,' 'they decreed' that each, etc.: cp. l. 1.

l. 55. **μέτ-οικος**, 'one who has changed his home,' 'a resident alien.'—Citizenship, which in modern times is generally based on residence, was in ancient times generally based on birth or descent. Hence the descendants of foreigners could never become citizens, though their family might have resided in a city for generations. Thus at Athens many of the richest merchants were only *resident aliens*, and could never become citizens.

l. 56. **ἀπο-σημαίνω**, lit. 'mark off by signs,' hence mid. 'seal up as confiscated to one's own use,' 'confiscate.'

l. 59. **φάσκοντας βελτίστους εἶναι**, 'asserting that they are the best or most enlightened:' i.e. by claiming the government for their own small clique they practically 'asserted they were the fittest to rule,' but did not obey the maxim 'Noblesse oblige,' or consider that 'rights imply duties.'

l. 60. **συκοφαντῆς**: see l. 8 n.

2. THE FALL OF THERAMENES.

l. 67. **λυμαίνομαι**, 'to bring harm (*λύμη*) upon,' 'damage' the constitution.

l. 68. **παρ-αγγέλλω**, 'pass on a message,' 'give the watchword,' which was *passed* from man to man, hence, 'give orders.'

l. 70. **ἐγ-χειρ-ίδιον**, (*ἐν χείρ*), 'a *hand*-knife,' 'a short sword,' or 'dagger.'

μάλη or *μασχάλη*, 'the arm-pit;' *ὑπὸ μάλης*, 'under the arm.'

τὴν βουλήν. The council or senate of 500 was in fact a standing committee of the Assembly to prepare measures for it. The members were generally elected by lot, but the Thirty had managed to fill it with their own partisans: cp. l. 5.

l. 73. **εἰδῆτε**, from *οἶδα*, but *ἴδητε* would be from *εἶδον*.

καινός, 'new,' 'done for the first time.' *οὐ καινά* is the real predicate of the sentence, 'these things [which] he does [are] not new:' if it was not the predicate it would have the article, *τὰ οὐ κ.*

l. 75. **γάρ** generally causal, and translated 'for,' is here explanatory, 'I say:' it is often thus used to begin a story, where we use 'now,' 'well,' or 'let me tell you then,' introducing the details of something which has only been alluded to before.

l. 76. **μεθ-ίστημι**,—*μετά* in comp. generally means 'change,' as here. *μετά* originally means 'among,' 'between;' this implies 'participating,' as in *μετ-έχω* (l. 39), hence '*exchange* of one condition for another.' The 2nd aorist and perfect (with plupf.) of *ἵστημι* are intransitive, the present and imperfect, future, and 1st aorist are transitive.

προ-πετής, (*προ-πίπτω*), 'falling forward,' 'prone,' 'headlong,' 'eager.'

l. 77. **τετρακοσίους**, 'the 400:' this was the name of an oligarchical government established at Athens by a conspiracy in the spring of 411 B. C. and deposed in the summer of the same year. 'The 400' were only a modification of the Senate but usurped the functions of the Assembly as well.

l. 79. **πρῶτος αὖ . . .** For the conduct of Theramenes, see Smith's History of Greece (smaller ed.), pp. 125, 126; and (larger ed.), pp. 350, 356.

l. 80. **δήπου**, 'then,' 'I suppose,' 'I imagine,' 'naturally.'

κόθορνος, 'buskin,' or 'long boot,' which fitted either foot equally well;

hence of one who changed sides in politics. Compare the epitaph on some 'trimmer' of Cromwell's time,

'Reader, John Newton, who erst plaid
the *Jack on both sides*, here is laid.'
Witt's Recreations, 1654.

A turncoat is the analogous metaphor: by a different metaphor we call a man who leaves the sinking ship of the losing side 'a rat.'

l. 84. **πράγματα**, 'affairs,' especially of 'trouble.'

l. 85. **ἀντι-κόπτῃ**. Cp. l. 24 n.

δια-πονέω, 'to work out a thing,' mid. intransitive, 'to labour on to the end' (**διά**, meaning 'through,' or 'thoroughly'). The infinitive depends on **δεῖ**.

l. 86. **πῶς ἂν ἀφ-ἵκοιντο**, 'how could they arrive?' **ἄν**, 'in that case,' implies a condition which is here supplied by '*if* they veered round.'

l. 89. **διὰ τὸ-εὐμετάβολος-εἶναι**. Cp. l. 27 n.

l. 91. **δῆμος**, the members of the **δημο-κρατία** (l. 90).

τοῦ ... ἀπ-ολωλέναι, 'of very many being destroyed by the democracy.' Cp. l. 27 n.

l. 92. **βελτιόνων**, 'the upper class,' 'the aristocracy,' (who prejudged their cause by always assuming the better names **ἄριστοι**, etc., cp. l. 103 n.) Compare **βελτίστους**, l. 58 n., and **καλοὶ κἀγαθοί**, l. 8 n.

l. 94. **ἄν**, 'in that case,' implies an '*if*,' which is here supplied by **σωθείς**, i.e. **εἰ σωθείη**.

l. 95. **μέγα φρονεῖν**, 'to think great things of themselves,' 'to be proud,' 'rebellious.'

l. 100. **μη-δ-ετέροις**, not **οὐ-δ-ετέροις**, because it is a supposition, 'whoever,' i. e. '*if* any one does not please.' If it was **οὐ-δ-ετέροις** it would be 'this man who does not,' as a matter of fact.

l. 103. **μισο-χρηστός**, 'hating (**μισέω**) the good,' i.e. 'opposed to an aristocracy.' Compare the use of **καλοὶ κἀγαθοί, βέλτιστοι, βελτίονες.**

l. 106. **καὶ ... καί**. Cp. l. 27 n.

δραχμῆς, gen. of price, 'who would sell the city for a franc;' 'who would be easily bribed.'

l. 107. **ἀπο-δίδωμι**, act. 'give back,' mid. 'give away of one's own,' or 'for one's own benefit,' 'sell.'

l. 110. **εἰς τὸ-ὑπ'-ὀλίγων-τυραννεῖσθαι**, 'into the state of being tyrannised over by a few.' Cp. l. 27 n.

l. 112. **πολιτεύεσθαι**, 'should play the part of citizens,' 'govern the state:' so **πολιτεία**, in l. 115, means 'the rights of citizens.'—Theramenes' view was that *all* who could serve in the regular infantry or cavalry at their own expence, should have the franchise, leaving only the poorer freemen disfranchised, whereas the Thirty had selected only 3000, about one-fourth of the whole number of citizens.

l. 114. **ἔχω** has often the sense of 'to be able,' 'if you have [an instance] to give where.'

l. 116. **ἐὰν ἐλεγχθῶ**,—**ἐάν** is always followed by the subjunctive, '*if ever* I shall have been convicted of. The condition is taken up by **παθὼν ἂν δικαίως ἀπο-θνήσκειν**, 'in such a case it would be right that I should suffer ... and be put to death.'

l. 118. **ἐσχατώτατα**. **ἔσχατος** is itself a superlative, 'last,' or 'utter-

most.' Shakespeare uses double superlatives in the same way, for greater emphasis, e.g. 'most boldest,' 'most unkindest,' 'most unpleasantest.'

l. 120. **θορυβέω**, 'make a noise,' (*θόρυβος*), 'shout;' **ἐπί** means 'at' something, so **ἐπι-θορυβέω**, Lat. 'ac-clamare;' here of applause.

γιγνώσκω is not 'to know,' but 'to perceive.' So **γιγνώσκοντες**, l. 181.

l. 122. **δια-ψηφίζεσθαι**, (*ψῆφοι*, 'the pebbles for voting'), 'vote to the end,' (*διά* meaning 'through,' or 'thoroughly'), 'decide by voting.' Cp. l. 85 n.

l. 123. **δια-λέγομαι**, 'discuss,' 'talk with one another;' *διά* means cutting 'through,' then 'in different directions,' Lat. 'dis-,' here simply 'one with another,' the middle having a reciprocal meaning, cp. Lat. 'inter se.' The aorist is passive in form but middle in meaning, cp. **ἐδεήθην**, iii. 7 n.

l. 124. **ἐπι-στῆναι**, cp. l. 76 n.

l. 125. **φανερῶς τῇ βουλῇ**, lit. 'visibly to the senate.'

δρύφακτοι, or *δρύφρακτοι*, (*δρῦς*, 'oak,' *φράττω*, 'to hedge in'), any 'raised platform,' or 'barrier,' which enclosed the members of an assembly, separated them from spectators, etc., Lat. 'cancelli;' so 'barristers' are those who are admitted to 'the bar' in a court of justice.

l. 126. **προ-στάτης**, 'one who stands in front,' 'a champion,' 'the head of a party.'

l. 127. **ἐὰν ὁρᾷ**. Cp. l. 116 n.

l. 129. **οὔ φασιν ἡμῖν ἐπι-τρέψειν**, 'say they will not put up with our conduct if,' etc. The Greeks express 'I say it is not so,' by *οὔ φημι εἶναι*. So in Latin, 'nego esse.'

l. 131. **μηδένα**, *κ. τ. λ.* The *μή* marks the prohibition: 'it is enacted that no one is to be put to death.'

l. 132. **ὑμετέρας**, referring to *ὦ βουλή*, l. 124.

l. 134. **τουτον-ί**,—the final *ι* is called the *demonstrative* iota; it is used in *pointing* at persons: cp. Lat. 'hic-ce.' Cp. v. 55.

ἐξ-αλείφω, 'to rub out,' the tablet being of wax; i.e. 'strike off' his name.

l. 138. **Ἑστία**, 'the image and altar of Vesta in the senate-house.' So *βωμός*, l. 141.

l. 139. **ἐπὶ Κριτίᾳ**,—**ἐπί** meaning 'upon,' and the dative implying 'rest at;' **ἐπί**, with the dative of the person, means, 'in the power of,' 'depending upon.'

l. 144. **ἐπι-δεῖξαι**,—**δείκνυμι**, **δείξω**, **ἔδειξα**, 'to show,' must never be confounded with *δέχομαι*, *δέξομαι*, *ἐδεξάμην*, 'to receive.'

l. 146. **ὑμῶν θαυμάζω εἰ μή**, 'I wonder at you if you will not'—that is, 'I can hardly imagine that you will not.' *θαυμάζω* is followed by **εἰ**, 'if,' where we should use 'that' (*ὅτι*). It is here used with a genitive implying close connection, 'of,' or 'in you.'

l. 147. **καὶ ταῦτα**, 'and that too.'

l. 150. **οἱ ἕνδεκα**, the 'eleven officers of the prison' who superintended executions, etc. 'The Board of Eleven' were most useful agents of the Thirty; they managed the business of police and the public force for them.

l. 151. **ἰέναι ἐπί**, 'to go against,' i. e. 'to arrest.'

l. 154. **μάλα μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ**, lit. 'with his voice very loud,' i. e. 'as loud as he could shout;' the article with *φωνῇ* marks that *μεγάλῃ* has the force of a predicate. Cp. l. 218 n.

l. 155. **ὁ Σάτυρος**, Satyrus was chief of 'the Eleven' and one of the most violent partisans of the Thirty.

l. 158. **κώνειον**, 'hemlock.' Drinking hemlock was the Athenian form of capital punishment.

ἀπο-κοτταβίζω, 'to throw the dregs of wine from a cup so as to hit a basin put for the purpose.' This was a common game at feasts; each drank to the health of his love and threw the dregs away, and if the basin was hit hard enough to make any noise, it was a good omen for the success of his love. So Theramenes says, 'Let this throw be to [the health of] the pretty Critias.' Death was what he wished for Critias, and his wishes were soon gratified. Cp. Cic. Tusc. i. 40.

l. 160. **τὸ φρόνιμον**, 'what is sensible,' 'presence of mind.'

l. 161. **παιγνιῶδες**, (*παίζω*, 'to play,' *παῖς*, 'a boy'), 'playfulness,' sense of 'humour.'

ἀπο-λείπω is here intransitive, 'leave,' 'fail.'

l. 162. **Θηραμένης μὲν δή,**—*δή* often follows *μέν* thus in continuing a narrative, 'so then,' 'so;' *δή*, like 'in fact,' briefly *sums up* the result of what has preceded: for *μέν*, cp. l. 20 n.

l. 163. **ὃς ἐξ-όν**, cp. l. 51 n.

l. 165. **χωρίον**, (dim. of *χῶρος*, Lat. 'ager'), 'a spot' as in l. 184: so in l. 170, 'a position,' 'fort;' here, 'a farm,' 'estate,' or 'country-house.'

3. THE COUNTER REVOLUTION.

l. 168. **ὁρμάω**, active, 'to set in motion,' or 'start,' both transitive and intransitive:—middle and passive, 'to set oneself in motion.'

l. 171. **ἱππεῖς**. Of the four classes at Athens, 'the knights,' or 'citizen-cavalry,' were the second in point of wealth. They were naturally warm partisans of oligarchy.

l. 173. **νέων**, from *νέος*, 'young;' *νεῶν*, would come from *ναῦς*.

l. 175. **καὶ μαλ' εὐδία,**—*εὐδία* (*εὖ-διος* 'fine,' from *Ζεύς*, genitive *Διός*, 'the sky'), 'fine weather;' *μάλα* means 'very,' and emphasizes *εὐδία*: *καί* emphasizes *μάλα*, 'even very fine,' '*exceedingly* fine.'

l. 176. **ὅπως ἐκ-πολιορκήσειαν**, Lat. 'ut expugnarent,' 'force to capitulate.' Cp. l. 300. *πολιορκέω*, 'to blockade a town;' *ἐκπ.* 'to take it by blockade,' *ἐκ*, like our 'out and out,' implying completion.

l. 178. **ὑστεραίᾳ**, sc. *ἡμερᾷ*: the termination *-αιος* is specially used of *days*; cp. *τεταρταῖός ἐστι*, 'he is four days dead.'

l. 181. **γιγνώσκω**. Cp. l. 120 n.

λῃλατέω, (*λεία*, 'plunder,' *ἐλάτης* or *ἐλατήρ*, (*ἐλαύνω*), 'a driver'), 'to carry off plunder.' Cp. note on *ναυμαχέω*, i. 10.

l. 183. **φυλή**, 'a tribe,' then a 'squadron of cavalry,' or 'a regiment of infantry,' as the divisions of tribes were observed in military as well as in civil matters.

l. 184. **λάσιος**, 'hairy,' 'rough,' 'woody.'

l. 186. **εἰς,—ἐν τῇ Φυλῇ** would merely express that the men were there; *εἰς*, with acc. of motion to, implies their having *flocked in* from all quarters. This is called a *pregnant* use of the preposition. Cp. l. 221 n.

l. 187. **κατα-βαίνω**, 'come *down* into the plain,' Phyle being in the mountains north of Attica: it was a frontier fortress about 10 miles from Athens lying on the direct road to Thebes.

τῆς νυκτός, genitive of time, 'in the night;' so l. 221.

θέμενος τὰ ὅπλα,—the shields were heavy to carry, so whenever Greek soldiers halted they rested their shields and spears on the ground. So 'grounding (or ordering) arms' means little more than 'halting.'

τῆς νυκτός, the genitive implying 'a part of' is used of time for 'at some point in.'

τρία ἢ τέτταρα στάδια, rather less than 'half a mile,' *στάδιον* being about a furlong; the plural is generally *στάδιοι*. Observe the accusative of distance or extension in space meaning 'over,' or 'along.'

l. 189. **πρὸς ἡμέραν ἐγίγνετο**, impers. 'it was getting towards daylight.'

l. 191. **οἱ περὶ Θ**. 'Thrasybulus with his troops;' so *οἱ περὶ Παῦλον*, 'Paul and his companions.' The Greek expression always *includes* the person mentioned; in fact in later Greek it is sometimes used of the man himself alone.

l. 192. **δρόμῳ προς-έπιπτον**,—*δρόμῳ*, 'at a run,' is especially used of a charge of infantry 'at the double;' *πρός* implies motion towards, hence *προσ-πίπτω*, 'fall upon,' 'charge.' Observe the *dramatic* imperfect which describes the charge as it was going on, while the others were dressing their horses.

l. 201. **ἐξέτασις**, (*ἐξετάζω*, 'to search out'), 'a review,' 'inspection.'

l. 204. **ἀπο-γράφω**, 'write off,' 'enter in a list,' mid. 'enter *one's own* name in a list,'—'that all should give in their names.'

l. 205. **ἀεί**, often means 'successively,' 'each when he had given in his name in his turn should go,' etc. So *ὁ ἀεὶ βασιλεύς*, means 'the successive kings.'

l. 206. **αἰγιαλός**, (*ἀΐσσω*, 'to rush'), 'where the waves beat,' 'the beach.'

l. 207. **κατ-έστησαν**, according to its form, might be either 1st aorist or 2nd aorist; the 1st aorist is transitive, the 2nd intransitive: the sense decides. Cp. l. 76. n.

l. 209. **ἵππ-αρχος**, at Athens one of the two generals of cavalry.

l. 210. **Ὠιδεῖον**, (*ᾠδή*, 'a song'), a kind of 'music-hall' or 'opera-house.' This Odeum was a circular building with a peaked roof, and was sometimes used for a law court. See map of Athens at end.

l. 216. **τῶν Ἐ. κατα-ψηφιστέον ἐστίν**,—the verbal adjective in *-τέος* implies 'necessity,' like the Lat. '-ndus:' 'a vote of condemnation must be passed,' i. e. 'you must condemn.' For the genitive, cp. l. 10. n.

l. 217. **ταὐτά**, i. e. *τὰ αὐτά*, must not be confounded with *ταῦτα*; *ὁ αὐτός* with dative *ἡμῖν*, means 'the same *as* we do.'

l. 218. **φανερὰν φέρειν τὴν ψῆφον**, when the adjective is separated from its substantive and article, and comes *before* or *after* but *not between* them, it is a *predicate*, as *φανερά* is here.—Voting was ordinarily by ballot. In this case each was to put his black or white ball *openly* on a certain spot, according as he was in favour of condemning or acquitting the Eleusinians. Observe the collective use of *ψῆφος*, 'their votes,' as in *τῆς ὑμετέρας ψήφου*, l. 132.

l. 221. **τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς**, 'taking those in Phyle from Phyle' is briefly expressed in Greek by 'those from Phyle,' where we say, 'those in Phyle.' This is called a *pregnant* use of the preposition, cp. l. 186. n.

l. 222. **περὶ**, with numbers, 'about,' 'more or less.'

l. 227. **ὁ κύκλος**, 'the circle' or 'wall' round a city.

l. 228. **Μουνυχία**. Munychia was the name of a small harbour, with a temple or citadel overlooking it, abutting on the Piraeus: see Plan at end.

l. 229. **συν-τάσσω**, 'to arrange together,' mid. 'put *oneself* in order of battle,' 'form.'

l. 230 **βάθος**,—the adverbial accusative, meaning 'along,' 'over,' or 'as regards,' here 'they were *in* depth up to.' So **ὕψος**, 'in height,' etc.

l. 231. **ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἀσπίδων**, lit. 'upon [a base **φί**] fifty shields,' i.e. 'in a column fifty deep.'

l. 233. **εἰς** is used distributively: **εἰς δύο**, 'two and two;' **εἰς δέκα**, 'at the rate of ten to *each* front rank man.'

l. 234. **ἐπ' αὐτοῖς**, 'upon (i.e. behind) them,' 'to back them.'

l. 236. **αὐτόθεν**, lit. 'from [the spot] itself,' 'on the ground,' so **αὐτοῦ** is used for, 'on the very spot,' 'there.' The sympathizing citizens joined them on the ground and acted as amateur stone-throwers.

l. 244. **καὶ νῦν δέ**,—when **καί** and **δέ** come together, **δέ** belongs to the sentence, **καί** to the word which follows it, 'and *now* also.'

l. 245. **ὄρθιος**, (**ὀρθός**, 'upright'), 'uphill.'

l. 249. **ἐξ-ικνέομαι**, in the sense of 'to come *upon*,' 'reach,' i.e. 'hit with our darts;' **αὐτῶν**, the genitive implying any form of close connection, 'of,' 'in,' or '*on*;' **ἐξ**, implying completion, like our 'out and out:' cp. l. 176. n.

l. 250. **πρωτο-στάτης**, 'standing first,' 'front-rank man,' i.e. 'the head of the column.'

l. 252. **ὧν γε**, like Lat. 'quippe qui,' '*since* the road is full *of them*,' lit. 'we can't miss those *at any rate*, of whom,' etc.

l. 253. **δραπετεύω**, (**δραπέτης**, 'a run-away slave,' **δι-δρά-σκω**),—'run away,' covered by their shields (**ὑπ' ἀσπίδων**).

l. 255. **ἐξ-άρχω**, 'begin with,' hence 'dictate' of an oath; so with **παιᾶνα**, 'begin a hymn to Mars,' 'address' it to him.

l. 257. **ἀνθ' ὧν**, i.e **ἀντὶ τῶν ὑβρισμάτων ἃ ὑβρίσθημεν**; an instance of Attic attraction, by which the relative is attracted into the case of the antecedent; the relative or adjective sentence being logically only an adjective *agreeing with* the antecedent. To avoid ambiguity this idiom is only used when the relative would have been in the accusative.

l. 266. **ἀπο-θνήσκει**, historical present. Cp. the use of the dramatic imperfect, l. 192. n.

l. 267. **ἐνίκων καὶ κατ-εδίωξαν**. **νικάω** is 'to be conqueror,' hence impf.

l. 269. **τῶν ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ δέκα ἀρχόντων**. The whole executive of Athens at this time consisted of fifty-one persons—the Thirty, the Eleven, and 'the Ten Magistrates of the Piraeus,' who were the deputies of the Thirty there.

l. 271. **ὑπο-σπόνδους ἀπ-εδίδοσαν**, observe the tense of **ἀπ-εδίδοσαν**, and that **ὑποσπόνδους**, without the article, is a part of the predicate. The recognised mode of acknowledging a defeat was to ask for a truce to recover the dead, as it implied that those who granted this had possession of the field.

l. 272. **δι-ελέγοντο**, cp. l. 123. n.

καὶ δὴ καί, 'and so among others...'—the first **καί** couples the sen-

tences: **δή**, 'so,' implies that this particular speech was a *natural* outcome of the general conversation implied in **διελέγοντο**: the second **καί** means this man *also* made a speech as well as others.

l. 273. **τῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ**, 'the party in Piraeus,' i.e. the democrats under Thrasybulus who had seized the Piraeus, and had concentrated their force in Munychia; so **τοῖς ἐν Πειραιεῖ** in l. 287. They must not be confounded with the oligarchical 'magistrates in Piraeus,' mentioned in l. 269.

l. 275. **παύσασθε**,—**παύ-ω** is transitive, 'to *make* to cease,' 'to stop some one else;' so **κατα-παῦσαι ἐκείνους**, (l. 290), 'put an end to their reign.' **παύ-ομαι** is intransitive, 'to cease,' (i.e. 'stop *oneself*'): so **παύσασθε, κ. τ. λ.** 'Cease to sin against your country.'

l. 279. **δέκα ἔτη πολεμοῦντες**, i. e. during the third or last period of the Peloponnesian war; this period was often called the Decelean war, because during it the Spartans occupied Decelea, which was a fortified post about 10 miles from Athens.

l. 284. **ἕκαστοι**, 'each party of them,' whereas **ἕκαστος** would be 'each separately,'—so in Latin, 'uterque,' 'both persons,' 'utrique,' 'both parties.'

l. 287. **ἐπίστευον μὴ ἠδικηκέναι**, 'were feeling confident [that] they had done no wrong.' The subject of an infinitive mood in Greek is generally omitted, when it is the same as that of the verb which governs the infinitive mood: cp. Section i. l. 155, note on *φάσκων σωθῆναι*.

l. 288. **οὐκ ἔφασαν**, see l. 129. n.

l. 289. **τὸ τελευταῖον**, adverbial accusative.

l. 292. **ἕνα ἀπὸ φυλῆς ἑκάστης**. There had been four clans at Athens; these were changed by Cleisthenes into ten 'tribes,' divided, like our 'hundreds,' or 'counties,' according to local habitation.

The death of Critias had deprived the Thirty of their head, and they had become thoroughly unpopular. The election of the Ten was an attempt of the moderate oligarchs to eliminate the more violent members of their own party, and thus to stem the tide of the popular feeling, which was running strongly in favour of the democratical party.

l. 302. **οὕτω**, 'so,' 'therefore,' 'with this view.'

l. 303. **ναυ-αρχέω**, 'to act as *ναύ-αρχος*' (l. 305), a kind of lord high admiral.

l. 308. **μέγα ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ**,—**ἐπί** meaning 'upon,' and the dative implying rest 'at;' hence **ἐπί** with dat. is used of the *basis* or cause of a feeling, *μ. φ.* **ἐφ' ἱππικῇ**, 'he is proud of his riding;' *μ. φ.* **ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ**, 'he is confident of his own powers':—so here, 'were greatly animated *by* [the presence of] Lysander.'

l. 309. **τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ**, observe the addition of the article to the proper name; '*the* Lysander' who was mentioned above. The first time a proper name is mentioned it cannot have the article; so **Λύσανδρος** simply, l. 300. After the first time it may either have the article or not, according as the writer may wish to lay emphasis on the fact that it has been mentioned before or not; so **Λυσάνδρῳ** simply, l. 311, and **Λύσανδρος**, l. 313. Compare also **Παυσανίας**, l. 310, (the first mention), but **ὁ Παυσανίας** afterwards, ll. 312, 315. So **εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας**, (l. 320), 'the Athens of the revolution,' and **τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ**, (l. 329), 'the Athene of the acropolis.'

l. 311. **τῶν ἐφόρων τρεῖς**, 'three out of the five' ephors: a bare majority.

καὶ αὐτός. Cp. l. 23, note on **καί**.

l. 317. οἴχομαι, 'have gone,' is a perfect, like ἥκω, 'I have come:' ἔρχομαι, 'to go,' or 'come,' is the strict present of both.

δή, 'then at last;' the δή marks the apodosis or important part of the sentence, and answers to ἐπεί.

l. 322. ἐφ' ᾧτε, more fully ἐπὶ πσύτῳ [τῷ λόγῳ] ἐφ' ᾧ-τε, 'upon these terms upon which,' 'i. e. on these conditions, that:' it is followed by an infinitive like ὥστε, 'so that,' i. e. 'on condition that.'

l. 324. ἀρξάντων. Observe the tense, which marks that *their rule is over;* when the Thirty were still in power these men were called ἄρχοντες. See l. 269 and note.

l. 326. ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, cp. l. 55 n.

l. 327. δι-ῆκε, from δι-ίημι, δι-ήσω, 1 aor. δι-ῆκα, is transitive, 'to send away,' whereas δι-ήκω would be intransitive, 'to have come through.'

l. 328. ἀν-ελθόντες,—observe the preposition, '*up* to the acropolis.'

l. 331. ἀν-έστησε, 'raised up again,' 'restored;' ἀνά, 'up,' is often used thus of restoration or 'setting up again:' the Assembly had been practically abolished by the election of the Thirty. Cp. l. 1 n.

l. 332. Ἐκκλησία,—(ἐκ-καλέω, 'to summon;' cp. our word 'convocation,' from 'to convoke'),—the Ecclesia, legislative assembly, or parliament of Athens. Restoring the Ecclesia is equivalent to 'restoring the democracy.' All free citizens could vote in it. It therefore differed essentially from our House of Commons, because the Commons voted not through representatives but in person. The word is used in the New Testament for 'the congregation' or 'Church;' hence Fr. *église*, Eng. 'ecclesiastic,' etc.

Ἐλευσῖνι, adverb, or rather old locative case, like Ἀθήνησι, iii. 1 n., otherwise ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι.

l. 333. μισθόω, 'let out for hire,' mid. 'hire' *for oneself.*

l. 335. μὴ μνησι-κακήσειν, 'not to remember evil,' 'to have an amnesty.

HISTORICAL NOTE.

THERE are two incidents of the Reign of Terror under the Thirty which are not recorded in the Text, but are too characteristic to be omitted. The first gives a picture of the treatment of citizens, the second of the treatment of resident foreigners.

'Besides murder and spoliation, the Thirty had a farther purpose, if possible, still more nefarious. In the work of seizing their victims, they not only employed the hands of these paid satellites, but also sent along with them citizens of station and respectability, whom they constrained, by threats and intimidation, to lend their personal aid in a service so thoroughly odious. By such participation, these citizens became compromised and imbrued in crime, and, as it were, consenting parties, in the public eye, to all the projects of the Thirty; exposed to the same general hatred as the latter, and interested, for their own safety, in maintaining the existing dominion. Pur-

suant to their general plan of implicating unwilling citizens in their misdeeds. the Thirty sent for five citizens, and ordered them, with terrible menaces, to cross over to Salamis and bring back Leon as prisoner. Four out of the five obeyed; the fifth was the philosopher Sokrates, who refused all concurrence and returned to his own house, while the other four went to Salamis and took part in the seizure of Leon. Though he thus braved all the wrath of the Thirty, it appears that they thought it expedient to leave him untouched. But the fact that they singled him out for such an atrocity —an old man of tried virtue, both private and public, and intellectually commanding, though intellectually unpopular—shows to what an extent they carried their system of forcing unwilling participants; while the farther circumstance that he was the only person who had courage to refuse, among four others who yielded to intimidation, shows that the policy was for the most part successful. The inflexible resistance of Sokrates on this occasion stands as a worthy parallel to his conduct as Prytanis in the public assembly held on the conduct of the generals after the battle of Arginusae, wherein he obstinately refused to concur in putting an illegal question.'

'The orator Lysias, and his brother Polemarchus, were both taken into custody. Both were metics, wealthy men, and engaged in a manufactory of shields, wherein they employed 120 slaves. Theognis and Peison, with some others, seized Lysias in his house while entertaining some friends at dinner; and having driven away his guests, left him under the guard of Peison, while the attendants went off to register and appropriate his valuable slaves. Lysias tried to prevail on Peison to accept a bribe and let him escape, which the latter at first promised to do; and having thus obtained access to the money-chest of the prisoner, laid hands upon all its contents, amounting to between three and four talents. In vain did Lysias implore that a trifle might be left for his necessary subsistence; the only answer vouchsafed was, that he might think himself fortunate if he escaped with life. He was then conveyed to the house of a person named Damnippus, where Theognis already was, having other prisoners in charge. At the earnest entreaty of Lysias, Damnippus tried to induce Theognis to connive at his escape, in consideration of a handsome bribe; but while this conversation was going on, the prisoner availed himself of an unguarded moment to get out through the back door, which fortunately was open, together with two other doors through which it was necessary to pass. Having first obtained refuge in the house of a friend in Peiraeus, he took boat, during the ensuing night, for Megara. Polemarchus, less fortunate, was seized in the street by Eratosthenes, one of the Thirty, and immediately lodged in the prison, where the fatal draught of hemlock was administered to him without delay, without trial, and without liberty of defence.' (GROTE, lxv.)

SECTION III.

THE SPARTAN SUPREMACY.

B. C. 399—395.

1. SPARTAN POLICY IN ASIA. B.C. 399.

(Grote, lxxii.)

l. 1. **Ἀθήνησι**, 'at Athens,' locative case = *ἐν Ἀθήναις*.

ἐκ τούτου,—*ἐκ* 'out of,' resulting 'from,' comes to mean 'after.' The Athenian Revolution ended with the expulsion of the Thirty Tyrants by Thrasybulus B.C. 403. The expedition of Cyrus was in B.C. 401.

l. 2. **ἀξιόω**, 'to make (or think) worthy,' hence c. inf. 'to claim that.'

It must be remembered that Greek syntax has much more resemblance to English syntax than it has to Latin: so in the case of oblique petitions, 'I tell you *to* do so and so,' the Greeks would almost invariably use the infinitive, as we do, whereas the Latins would use 'ut' and the subjunctive. So here we might say in English 'thought they ought *to* act so to him.'

l. 4. **ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀθηναίοις πολέμῳ**,—it was the energetic assistance of Cyrus that turned the scale against Athens in the latter part of the Peloponnesian war when the battle-ground was on the coast of Asia Minor. Cp. Section i. p. 8, ll. 38–45.

l. 5. **οἱ ἔφοροι**, (*ἐφ-οράω*, 'to overlook'), lit. 'the overseers,' at Sparta 'the Ephors,' or five chief magistrates, a kind of Cabinet Council, who could control even the kings. See Hist. Intr., p. 49.

l. 6. **τῷ τότε ναυάρχῳ**, lit. 'the *then* navarch,' i. e. the lord high admiral *for that year*.

δέοιτο, the middle form of *δέω*, 'I lack,' means 'to want' or 'require:' the active form is not common, but is used both personally and impersonally, as in **πολλοῦ δέω**, 'I want much,' 'am far from,' and **πολλοῦ δεῖ**, 'far from;' **δεῖ** in the other sense, 'it is binding on one,' 'one must,' seems to come from *δέω*, 'to bind.'

l. 7. **ἐδεήθην**, the perfect and aorist passive of deponent verbs are generally used with a *middle* and not a passive sense; all verbs may be counted as deponents which have a new sense in the middle, as *δέομαι* has, cp. l. 6.

l. 8. **σὺν τῷ Κύρου**, sc. *ναυτικῷ*.

l. 9. **ἐποίησε . . . μὴ δύνασθαι**, 'made him not able,' i.e. prevented him.

l. 11. **βασιλέα**,—*βασιλεύς* when used thus as a *proper name* for the king of Persia is generally found without the article.

ὃς depends on *γέγραπται* (l. 15).

μέν, answering to *μέντοι* (l. 16), which is here equivalent to *δέ*; the two particles contrast the Anabasis and the Hellenics, the *μέν* dismissing the one, the *μέντοι* introducing the other.

l. 12. **ἀν-έβη**, 'marched *up*,' i. e. 'inland;' hence the name *ἀνά-βασις*, or the expedition up to Cunaxa; the Retreat is properly called *κατά-βασις*, 'the march *down* to the coast.'

l. 13. **ἡ μάχη**, the battle at Cunaxa, in which Cyrus the younger defeated his brother Artaxerxes; but as Cyrus was killed in the battle, the object of the expedition was gone, and there was nothing left for the Greeks but to retreat.

l. 14. **Θεμιστογένει**, the dative of the *agent*, especially used after *perfect* passives, instead of the more usual *ὑπό* c. gen. Plutarch says that Xenophon attributes his own work to this unknown Themistogenes, in order that the account of his exploits in the Retreat might gain more credence from its not being supposed to be an autobiography.

l. 17. **πολλοῦ ἄξιος**, genitive of price, 'worth much,' 'a very useful servant.' Tissaphernes was nominally commissioned to conduct the Greek army homeward and supply it with provisions according to the terms of the truce made after Cunaxa, but under pretence of a peaceful conference he secured Clearchus and the other Greek generals, and having treacherously put them to death, showed great energy in harassing the retreating columns of the Greeks.

κατ-επέμφθη, for the force of *κατά*, see l. 12 n.

l. 18. **ὧν . . . ἦρχε**,—*ἄρχω* in Attic generally has the sense of '*to be a leader of*,' and is followed by the genitive (or dative); while *ἄρχ-ομαι* is used for 'to begin.' *ὧν ἦρχε*, therefore, is not a case of Attic attraction, as this is only employed where the relative would have been in the accusative; the full construction is *σατράπης* [*τῶν χωρῶν*] *ὧν αὐτὸς ἦρχε καὶ ὧν Κῦρος* [*ἦρχεν*].

l. 22. **εἰσίν**, there are two points to be noted about this, (1) that though in oblique oration it is dramatically put in the *present*, thus suggesting that the actual words were *ἐπεὶ . . . ἐστε*, and (2) that the nom. *οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι* has to be supplied from *εἰς Λακεδαίμονα*.

σφῶν, gen. plur. of *οὗ*, must not be confounded with *σφῷν*, gen. dual of *σύ*: it represents the Lat. 'sui,' and would have been *ἡμῶν* in direct oration.

l. 24. **Θίβρωνα**. Thibron, or Thimbron, recruited from among the 10,000 Greeks at Pergamus, took several cities, but permitted plundering and lax discipline among his troops, he was therefore recalled to Sparta, tried, fined, and went into exile. He was again employed about eight years afterwards, but again failed in discipline, and was defeated and slain.

l. 25. **νεο-δᾶμ-ώδεις**, under the general name of 'Lacedaemonians' were included two distinct classes, (1) the *Spartans* or the Dorian invaders, the only free hereditary citizens, (2) the *original inhabitants* of the country. Of these last there were three grades, (1) the Perioeci, (*περί-οικοι*) *dwelling* in the country-towns *round* about Sparta, who were not serfs, and yet had no votes; (2) the freed serfs or *νεοδαμώδεις*, i. e. those who had been *newly* made

part of the people, (δᾶμος, Doric for δῆμος); (3) the Helots or actual serfs. The Spartan government was the type of national exclusiveness, they never admitted the original inhabitants to full citizenship: it was as if the Norman conquerors of England had refused ever to amalgamate with their Saxon subjects. The fate of Sparta was the just punishment of her exclusiveness; the race died out for want of fresh blood. Observe the tyrannical nature of the Spartan supremacy, she wishes to send out a force of 5000; she does not send any of her own citizens, except as officers, but 1000 of her 'freed serfs,' whom she probably wished out of the way, while the remaining 4000 are supplied by other states of the Peloponnese, her subject-allies, who probably exceedingly disliked sending their contingents on such distant service. See further 'Spartan affairs at home,' Hist. Intr. to 4th Division of Section iii. p. 49.

εἰς χιλίους,—**εἰς** (**ἐν-s**) is related to **ἐν** as **πρός** to **πρό**, hence by itself it would mean 'in,' and then from the accusative to which it is always joined it gets the idea of 'to,' so 'into' or 'to;' so of any limit, as here, **εἰς χιλίους** 'up to 1000.'

l. 29. **τοὺς ἱππεύσαντας**, 'those who had served as cavalry in the time of (**ἐπί**) the Thirty,' see sect. ii. l. 171 n. **ἐπί**, 'upon,' with genitive often means 'in the time of.'

l. 30. **ἐν-απ-όλοιντο**, the force of **ἐν** is '*in* the foreign country to which they were to be sent.'

l. 33. **ὅ τι ἐπιτάττοι**,—the optative here has a conditional sense, 'whatever he *might* order,' i. e. '*if* he should order anything, whatever it was.'

l. 34. **οἱ ἀνα-βάντες συν-έμιξαν αὐτῷ**, at Pergamus, they were then in the service of the Thracian prince Seuthes.

l. 36. **ὡς ... πορευομένου**,—**ὡς** expresses the *motive*, '*as* being on his way,' i. e. 'since he was going.'

l. 38. **καὶ ἐπ-εκαλεῖτο δέ**,—where **δέ** and **καί** occur together **δέ** couples the sentences, **καί** emphasizes the word to which it is prefixed. **Σίσυφος**, a Corinthian, the type of unscrupulous cleverness, cp. Hom. Il. 6. 153, where Glaucus boasts of his ancestry at Ephyre or Corinth, 'and there was Sisyphus, he who was the wiliest of men,'

ἔνθα δὲ Σίσυφος ἔσκεν, ὃ κέρδιστος γένετ' ἀνδρῶν.

l. 40. **παρ-ήγαγε**,—the force of **παρά** is 'along' the coast.

l. 41. **Φαρναβάζου**, genitive of possession, 'belonging to,' so in next line, **ἦν Φαρναβάζου**, 'belonged to Pharnabazus.'

2. STORY OF MANIA. B.C. 399.

l. 46. **ἀνα-ζεύγνυμι**, lit. 'to yoke' or 'harness again' (**ἀνά** meaning 'up' or 'afresh'), hence, like Lat. 'castra movere,' 'to march off' an army.

l. 49. **ὥστε** either affects the mood or it does not; (1) if it affects the mood it is followed by the infinitive; (2) if it does not, the construction remains of course just the same as it would have been without the **ὥστε**, so here the indicative **ἐτίμα**, marking the *fact*, shows that the result was attained; if the infinitive had been used, then the emphasis would have been laid only on the *result*, without implying whether that result was attained or not.

l. 51. **ἐπὶ σοὶ ἔσται,**—*ἐπί* meaning 'upon,' and dative implying 'rest at;' **ἐπὶ σοί**, c. dat. pers., means 'resting upon you,' i.e. 'it will be in your power.' **ἐπὶ Κριτίᾳ**, sect. ii. l. 139 n.

l. 52. **δήπου**, 'perhaps,' or 'I presume;' **δή** meaning 'then' or 'assuredly **που**, lit. 'somewhere,' then 'in some degree,' 'possibly.'

ἀφ-ελομένῳ ἐμέ,—*ἀφ-αιρέομαι*, 'to take away for oneself,' from having the general meaning of 'to deprive a person of anything,' is used with an accusative of the person as well as of the thing.

l. 53. **ἔγνω**, 'decided;' *γιγνώσκω* is not 'to know,' but to 'perceive,' 'judge.'

l. 55. **πρὸς τούτοις,**—*πρός* originally meaning, like *πρό*, 'in front of,' practically gets its meaning almost entirely from the cases to which it is joined: so *πρὸς ταῦτα* is 'with reference *to* these things,' 'therefore,' **πρὸς τούτων**, '*from* these things,' **πρὸς τούτοις**, 'in *addition to* this.'

l. 56. **ὁπότε . . . ἐμ-βάλλοι**, cp. l. 33 n.

l. 58. **ἔστιν ὅτε**, lit. 'there is when,' i.e. 'sometimes.'

l. 60. **ἐτῶν**, lit. 'of more than forty years,' i.e. 'more than forty years old;' compare the English 'of age,' 'of years of discretion,' where 'of' is much the same as 'in.'

l. 61. **ἀνα-πτερόω**, 'to furnish with wings,' hence metaphorically, 'set on the wing,' 'put on the tiptoe' of expectation. So here 'excited,' or 'nettled by the remark that:' the metaphor is perfect but untranslateable.

l. 64. **τὸ εἶδος**, the accusative having notion of 'to' or 'about;' **τὸ εἶδος** here is like an adverbial accusative, 'as regards looks:' cp. ii. 230.

l. 68. **ἀπεκρίναντο φυλάττειν**, 'answered *that he should* keep them,' '*told* him in answer *to* keep them,' where the same sense is conveyed by our word 'tell.' In direct oration it would be *φύλαττε αὐτά*. Cp. l. 88, and **εἶπον κεκλεῖσθαι**, v. 155 n.

l. 69. **ἕς τε** (perhaps for **ἐς ὅτε**), exactly answers to Lat. 'us-que,' 'up to,' 'until,' (1) with reference to the past, **ἕστε ἔλαβε** would be 'until he took,' but (2) when it refers to the *future*, **ἄν**, 'in any case,' is joined with it, and then, like all conjunctions compounded with *ἄν*, it is followed by the subjunctive as here, **ἕστ' ἂν λάβῃ**: the sentence in direct oration would be *φύλαττε ἕστ' ἂν λάβω*, and the present form *λάβῃ* is dramatically used after **ἀπεκρίναντο** instead of the past *λάβοι*.

σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ depends on *λάβῃ*, 'take the gifts, *and Midias himself* too:' so *αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν* is used of a ship sinking *crew and all*.

l. 70. **οὐκ ἂν ἔφη**, Lat. 'negavit,' 'he *said* he would *not*.' **ἄν**, 'in that case,' belongs to *βούλεσθαι* and is explained by 'in case he did not punish.'

μὴ τιμωρήσας, i.e. **εἰ μὴ τιμωρήσειε**; *μή* with part. marks a *supposition*: **οὐ τιμώρησας** would mean 'because he did not punish,' stating a *fact* (which would not make sense here). *τιμωρέω*, in act. 'to bring aid to' or 'avenge,' hence with dative; the middle, meaning 'to avenge oneself on,' is used transitively for 'to punish,' with accusative, so we might have here **τιμωρησάμενος Μειδίαν**.

l. 74. **ἐπὶ τίσιν,**—*ἐπί* with dative of the thing generally means 'resting on *terms* of,' so here, 'on what terms;' **ἤρετο ἐπὶ τίσι γένοιτο σύμμαχος** would mean 'asked him on what terms he became an ally,' the addition of **ἄν** makes it conditional, 'on what terms he *would* become.'

ἐφ' ᾧτε, 'on [those terms on] which:' **ἐφ' ᾧτε**, like **ὥστε**, is followed by

an infinitive, 'on condition that he should leave:' cp. ἐφ' ᾧτε εἰρήνην ἔχειν, ii. 322 n.

l. 76. ἅμα goes with the part. λέγων, 'even while he was speaking,' lit. 'speaking at the same time.'

l. 77. εἰς δύο, 'up to two,' 'two *deep*,' i. e. 'two and two;' εἰς being used distributively as in εἰς δέκα, ii. 233 n.

l. 78. οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων... οὐκ ἔβαλλον, i. e. οἱ ἐν τοῖς πύργοις οὐκ ἔβαλλον ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων; this is called a *pregnant* use of the preposition. Cp. ii. 186.

καὶ μάλα ὑψηλῶν,—'[they were not only on towers, but these towers themselves] also were very high and commanded the entrance.'

l. 81. ἵνα ἡγῇ,—ἵνα answers to Latin final 'ut,' and is followed by the subjunctive after a primary tense as here, and by the optative (or past subjunctive) after a past tense.

l. 85. αὖ, 'again,' 'once more,' so here 'still:' in ii. 41, αὖ means 'on the contrary,' as in Eng. 'again' is connected with 'against.'

l. 87. θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, 'to ground their arms,' i. e. 'to halt;' so in England 'to halt' generally implies to 'order arms.'

l. 88. ἀν-είπε,—ἀνά, 'up,' has the force of 'aloud:' cp. our 'speak up' as opposed to speaking 'low.' εἰπεῖν with the infinitive has here the meaning of 'to order' as above, l. 68 n.

l. 90. στόμα, 'mouth,' 'face,' 'front,' hence of 'front ranks' of an army.

μισθοφορήσοντας, sc. ἑαυτῷ, 'as they were to serve him (Dercylidas).'

l. 91. Μειδίᾳ γὰρ οὐδὲν δεινὸν ἔσται, 'Midias will have nothing more to fear,' a bit of irony: 'Midias cannot want any bodyguard, [as he is henceforth only a private person].'

l. 92. ἀπορῶν ὅ τι ποιοίη is not 'not knowing what he did,' where the optative would simply mark the indirect question of past term, but 'being at a loss what he should do,' where the optative has a *deliberative* force. The subjunctive often expresses doubt or deliberation; so τί ποιῶ, 'what *am* I to do,' ἀπορῶν ὅ τι ποιῇ, 'not knowing what he *is* to do.' This in *past* time becomes ὅ τι ποιοίη, as here.

l. 94. τεθυκότα ξενίζεσθαι,—those who had made an offering used to feast their friends on part of the victim. So Samuel gave Saul the shoulder of a victim when there was a feast in the high place (1 Sam. ix. 13, 23). In later times the victims were sold; hence the question of 'eating meat which had been offered to idols' (1 Cor. x. 25).

l. 95. παρ' ἡμῖν,—παρά meaning 'beside,' and dative implying 'rest at;' παρά with dative means 'at house of . . . ,' Fr. *chez moi*, Lat. 'apud me.'

ἐν ᾧ, sc. χρόνῳ, 'whilst.'

l. 100. μάλιστα, 'most,' in answers as a strong affirmative, 'most certainly,' Lat. 'vel maxime.'

l. 102. ψεύδεταί σε,—the active is commonly used in the sense of 'to belie,' 'deceive by lies,' the middle being generally intransitive.

l. 105. τίνος ἦν, '*of* whom,' '*belonging to* whom,' i. e. 'whose vassal;' Mania as a sub-satrap being regarded as the slave or servant of Pharnabazus: so 'vassal' properly means 'slave,' being the same word as 'valet' or 'varlet,' a 'boy' or 'slave.'

l. 106. **Φαρναβάζου**, possessive genitive, 'belonging to Pharnabazus,' as *τίνος* above, repeated in *τὰ ἐκείνης* [*ἐστὶν*] *Φαρναβάζου* and *τὰ Μανίας καὶ τὰ Φαρναβάζου* below.

l. 107. **ἄν**, 'in that case,' i. e. *if* they belong to Pharnabazus.

l. 114. **ἁλίσκομαι**, with part. 'to be caught' or 'detected in.'

l. 116. **κατα-σημαίνομαι**,—*κατά* ('down,' like our 'downright') intensifies the force of the verb, 'to seal securely;' the middle implies 'for oneself,' 'for one's own use;' so **ἀπο-σημαίνομαι**, 'to confiscate,' sect. ii. l. 56 n.

l. 118. **ἡμῖν**, dat. of *agent* after **εἴργασται**: this dative is especially used after the *perfect* passive. Cp. l. 14 n.

l. 119. **ἐνιαυτοῦ**, 'of a year,' i. e. 'for a year;' so **δὶς ἐνιαυτοῦ**, 'twice a year:' *τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ* would be 'for *the* year,' i. e. yearly. **ἐγγύς** is sometimes used as a preposition taking a genitive of place, but here an adverb, 'nearly.'

ὀκτακις-χιλίοις ἀνδράσιν is in apposition to *τῇ στρατιᾷ*, the dativus commodi, whereas *ἡμῖν* is dative of agent after perf. pass., see above.

3. SPARTAN TREATMENT OF ELIS. B.C. 399.

l. 127. **Δερκυλίδα**, observe the Doric genitive, oftened retained in Attic in the names of foreigners, especially of Laconians.

l. 128. **ποτέ**, in the Peloponnesian War against Athens. There were other pretexts alleged for the War, but the real reason was that Sparta thought Elis was becoming too powerful.

l. 129. **ἐκώλυον μὴ προς-εύχεσθαι**, Lat. 'prohibebant quominus precarentur;' for the use of the Greek infinitive to express oblique petition, cp. above on **ἀξιόω**, l. 2 n. *μὴ* is always used with the infinitive where it would have been used with the indicative in direct oration; so here it would have been *μὴ προς-εύχεσθε*.

l. 130. **νίκην πολέμου**, 'victory in war,' the genitive here being really equivalent to *ἐν πολέμῳ*.

καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον,—the accusative implying 'to,' 'along,' is often used of time for 'during,' so here adverbially, 'even of old,' 'in earliest times.'

l. 132. **ἐφ' Ἑλλήνων πολέμῳ**,—*ἐπί* with dative meaning 'on terms of,' also means 'for purpose of,' as here.

l. 133. **ἔδοξε τοῖς ἐφόροις**, lit. 'seemed good,' i. e. 'they decreed.'

τῇ **ἐκκλησίᾳ**, 'the assembly,' probably the *ἔκκλητοι*, 'a committee of Spartan citizens chosen to report on certain questions.'

l. 134. **εἶπον ὅτι δοκοίη**,—the optative in Greek is the mood which marks oblique oration: it is thus used with *ὅτι* after a past tense, after verbs of saying and thinking, where the accusative and infinitive would be used in Latin.

ll. 137, 138. **ποιήσοιεν . . . ἔχοιεν**,—observe the optative marking the oblique oration.

l. 138. **ἐπι-λῃΐς**, (*λεία*, 'plunder'), 'gained in war.' Observe its *predicative* force here. Cp. l. 207.

φρουρὰν φαίνειν, to give notice that a *φρουρά*, or levy, was wanted, 'proclaim an expedition.'

l. 140. **ἐμβάλλω** is here intransitive, 'to throw oneself into,' 'invade.'

ἡ Ἦλεία, sc. **γῆ**, 'the land of Elis,' so **ἡ πολεμία** in the next line.

l. 143. **δι-αφ-ίημι**,—**ἀφ-ίημι** is 'to send away,' **διά** adds the sense 'in different directions;' when the forces were 'disbanded' they returned to their separate cities; **διά** has the same meaning in **δι-επρεσβεύοντο**, l. 145.

l. 145. **ὅσας ᾔδεσαν οὔσας**,—verbs of knowing and feeling are generally followed by the participle to express a *fact*; so **οὓς ᾔδεσαν ζῶντας**, 'whom they knew were living,' ii. 8, whereas **οἶδα ζῆν** would mean, 'I know *how* to live.' With verbs of thinking, reporting and saying, the construction with **ὅτι** is more common.

l. 149. **οἵ τε ἄλλοι καί**, 'both others [whom one need not mention] and,' hence it comes to mean 'more particularly.' The remarkable fact was not that Sparta's regular allies followed her, but even her old rivals the Athenians.

l. 158. **τὸ λεγόμενον**, adverbial accusative, 'according to the proverb.'

μεδίμνῳ ἀπομετρήσασθαι ἀργύριον, [to be so rich as to] 'measure off one's money by the bushel,' cp. Lat. 'dives ut metiretur nummos.' With the addition of **τὸ παρὰ τοῦ πατρός**, meaning 'the money a son *expects* to inherit at his father's death,' the proverb was especially used of those who *expected* a great windfall of wealth or good fortune, or as we should say, who 'counted their chickens before they were hatched.' The oligarchy within the city of Elis, in their delight at the support of a Spartan army, made a *premature* attempt to overthrow the established government, and get all the power into their own hands by an internal revolution.

l. 164. **καθ-εύδων ἐτύγχανεν**, 'was asleep *at the time*,' **τυγχάνω** implies coincidence rather than chance; for the difference of the Greek and English idioms in the case of verbs like **τυγχάνω**, **φθάνω**, and **οἴχομαι**, see note on **ἔτυχον ἀριστο-ποιούμενοι**, i. 81, and **ᾤχοντο ἄγοντες**, i. 31.

l. 167. **ὁ ἡγεμών**, sc. **περι-έχεται**, 'as the queen bee [is surrounded] by the swarm.'

l. 168. **ἀνα-λαμβάνω**, 'to take up into one's hands,' 'take with one,' is especially used of mobilising an army.

l. 169. **ἐκ-πίπτω** is generally used as the passive of **ἐκβάλλω**, 'to turn out,' 'expel,' as **ἀπο-θνήσκω** is used for the passive of **ἀποκτείνω**.

l. 175. **φέρω καὶ ἄγω**,—'to carry off and lead away' is the regular expression for 'to plunder' or 'harry' a country, 'carrying off the moveables and driving the live stock,' Lat. 'ferre et agere.'

l. 176. **τοῦ ἐπ-ιόντος θέρους**,—the genitive implies close connection, 'a part of' or 'in;' so of a point of time, '*in* the course of the ensuing summer:' observe the difference between this and the accusative **τὸν ἐπιόντα χειμῶνα** above, which means '*during* the ensuing winter.'

4. SPARTAN AFFAIRS AT HOME. B.C. 398.

l. 182. **μετὰ τοῦτο**, 'after this,' i. e. after the conclusion of the war with Elis, a war which left Sparta as triumphant over her Peloponnesian allies as Lysander's successes in the Peloponnesian war had left her over her Athenian enemies. The meaning of the preposition **μετά**, 'together with,' is modified

by the cases to which it is attached, (1) with the accusative implying '*coming* among,' it means '*after*,' as here; (2) with the genitive implying 'in,' it means '*with*,' Lat. 'cum,' so μετὰ τοῦτο means 'after this,' but μετὰ τούτου would mean '*with* this man.'

l. 182. **τὴν δεκάτην**, 'the tenth part' or 'tithe' [of the booty taken in Elis]; chiefly cattle from the rich pastures of the state.

l. 183. **κάμνω**, lit. 'to labour,' then 'to fall sick.' Cp. 'to travail,' from Fr. *travailler*.

l. 185. **ἀντέλεγον, κ. τ. λ.** *Leotychides* was young and untried, and was further suspected of being the son of Alcibiades, who had been received in the king's house during his exile from Athens. *Agesilaus* was an undisputed Heracleid, of mature age and proved bravery, supported moreover by Lysander, the most powerful man in Sparta, who hoped to advance his own interests by the accession of his own old school-friend to power. But he was lame, and the oracles had specially warned Sparta to beware of a 'lame reign.' How the oracle was turned in this case (as by Themistocles before Salamis) is described in the text. The misfortunes of Sparta at the close of the reign of Agesilaus will be recounted in the Sixth Section.

l. 186. **υἱὸς φάσκων εἶναι**, observe that the nominative is used with the infinitive where the person is the same as that of the verb on which the infinitive depends. Cp. *αὐτοὶ νῦν στρατηγεῖν οὐκ ἐκεῖνον*, i. 218, and note on i. 155.

l. 189. **εἰ μὴ τυγχάνοι . . . ἂν βασιλεύοι**, the optative with *ἄν* is really a *potential* mood, the optative without *ἄν* is merely the past tense of the Greek subjunctive (or dependent) mood.

l. 190. **ἐμέ** is emphatic, the short form *με* is used when the word is not to be emphasized.

l. 191. **πῶς**, sc. *ἂν δέοι σε βασιλεύειν*.

ἐμοῦ γε ὄντος,—*γε* means 'at least,' 'as long at least as *I* am alive.'

l. 192. **οὐκ ἔφη σε εἶναι**, Lat. 'negabat te esse,' the negative being put in Greek with the verb of saying, instead of as in English with the infinitive.

ἑαυτοῦ, sc. *υἱόν*. Cp. **Σωκράτης ὁ Σωφρονίσκου** [*υἱός*], i. 168.

l. 193. **καὶ νῦν ἔτι**, 'even now still says,' i. e. not only said (**ἔφη**) but adheres to it now.

l. 196. **χρησμός**,—the oracle is thus given by Plutarch:—

> *φράζεο δὴ, Σπάρτη, καίπερ μεγάλαυχος ἐοῦσα,*
> *μὴ σέθεν ἀρτίποδος βλάστῃ χωλὴ βασιλεία.*
> *δηρὸν γὰρ μόχθοι σε κατασχήσουσιν ἄελπτοι,*
> *φθισίβροτόν τ' ἐπὶ κῦμα κυλινδόμενον πολέμοιο.*

> Beware, then, Sparta, lest in spite of all thy vaunted fame,
> Thy firm foot fail, and thou become a kingdom of the lame,
> Then long shall troubles bear thee down, and woes unknown before,
> And high shall rise o'er all thy race the rolling wave of war.

l. 201. **οἱ ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους**,—the royal family at Sparta, though probably of Dorian origin, claimed Heracles as their founder. According to tradition, Heracles, as the descendant of Perseus, was the rightful king of Argos, but was kept out of his kingdom by Eurystheus: his children were exiles, but in the fourth generation were assisted by the Dorians to recover their pos-

sessions in the Peloponnese: hence the Dorian migration or conquest is often called the Return of the Heraclidae: there were three Heracleid chiefs, one took Argos, another Messenia, Sparta fell to the lot of the third (Aristodemus), who had been killed, but was represented by his twin sons, Eurysthenes and Procles; hence the two families of kings at Sparta. By these legends, in spite of the fact that the Dorians had no mythical story, the kings of Sparta claimed connection with the kings of Argos, the great heroes of Achaean Greece, Perseus and Heracles, Agamemnon and Orestes.

l. 202. **ἡγοῖντο τῆς πόλεως,**—*ἡγέομαι* with dative means 'to go before,' 'be a leader to,' then with gen. = *ἡγεμών εἰμι*, as here: cp. Horace's 'regnavit populorum.'

τοιαῦτα ἀκούσασα ἀμφοτέρων, here *ἀκούω* has its full construction, viz. an accusative of *thing heard*, and a genitive of the person *from whom* it is heard.

l. 207. **δεινότερα ἔφη τὰ ἱερὰ φαίνεσθαι,**—there are two parts of a sentence, the *subject*, i.e. 'what you are talking of, and the *predicate*, or 'what you say of it;' so in 'the omens are more alarming,' we call 'omens' the subject, and 'alarming' the predicate: thus an adjective may play two parts in the sentence; it may either be a mere *epithet* of the subject, or it may by itself be the *predicate* or important part of the sentence: there is no difficulty in Greek in deciding whether an adjective is epithet or predicate, as the English idiom is just like the Greek: the subject is marked by the *presence* of the article, the predicate by the *absence* of it, so in 'the more alarming omens,' *τὰ δεινότερα ἱερά*, 'more alarming' is a part of the subject; and the same in *τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ δεινότερα*, 'the omens, the more alarming ones, I mean:' but in 'the omens appeared more alarming,' *δεινότερα ἐφαίνετο τὰ ἱερά*, 'alarming' is the predicate: the Greeks mark the predicate not only by the absence of the article but by *position*, as they generally put some other word (as *ἔφη* here) between the adjective and the noun of which it is predicated. Cp. v. 289.

l. 208. **αὐτοῖς,**—'*αὐτός* in nominativo *ipse*, in obliquis *is*:' this is the general rule, but *αὐτός* not only means 'self' in the nominative, but also, (1) when it comes *first* in the sentence, and so is made emphatic by position, (2) when it is *joined to a substantive*, as here, and v. 110. *ὁ αὐτός* is Lat. 'idem.'

l. 212. **τὴν ψυχήν,** the accusative implies 'to,' 'along,' or 'over,' in fact any relation not marked by one of the other cases, hence it is used for 'as regards.'

l. 213. **τῶν ὁμοίων,** partitive genitive, 'one of the peers.'—Even the families of true Spartan descent could only count their members among the peers as long as they severally subscribed to the mess-table and performed the requisite drill: Cinadon, it appears, underwent all the drill, but could not pay the fees; hence he became one of the 'inferiors,' and being still as a Spartan gentleman excluded from trade, had no chance of recovering his position except by a revolution.

l. 214. **ἐρομένων πῶς φαίη,**—the past *ἐρόμενος* is from the aor. *ἠρόμην*, not from the unused present *ἔρομαι*, the place of which is supplied by *ἐρωτάω*: the optative answers to the Lat. past subjunctive, and marks the indirect question *ἤροντο πῶς φαίη*; with the present the indicative is used, so in

would be *ἐρωτῶσιν πῶς φησίν*: the same optative occurs in *ὁπόσοι ἐ'εν*, l. 216.

l. 218. **γέροντας**, 'councillors' or 'senators,' Lat. 'patres.'

τετταράκοντα. — notice the enormous disproportion of numbers: even in Sparta itself, where all the true Spartans lived, only 1 in 100 were Peers; all others were inferiors, Perioeci or Helots. Formerly the prospect of becoming a Peer by a change of fortune kept the inferiors strongly on the side of the Peers as being all Spartans; now we see them beginning to range themselves on the side of the lower orders, owing to the exclusiveness of the Peers.

l. 219. **τί δή**, 'why *then*?'

l. 223. **ἔνθα μὲν ... ἔνθα δέ**, 'here ... there,' 'in one place ... in another.

l. 225. **ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις**, 'on their estates' in the country; these estates were worked by the Helots, who were in a position similar to that of the Russian 'serfs' or the 'villeins' in the middle ages; they worked the land, and had to pay over the profits to the owners; these owners were the full Spartan gentlemen, who, having no time for anything but their drill and State duties, had to depend on the family property for the power to pay their fees. Thus a large family, a series of bad harvests, or a long war, might turn them from the position of Peers to that of inferiors.

l. 230. **οὐδένα δύνασθαι κρύπτειν τὸ μὴ οὐκ ἐσθίειν**,—*μὴ οὐ* is used after verbs implying a negative, so (1) with the subjunctive after verbs of fear or anxiety, *δέδοικα μὴ οὐ γένηται*, 'I fear this is *not* so,' whereas *δέδοικα μὴ γένηται* would be 'I fear this is so:' so (2) with the infinitive; but here two usages must be distinguished, (1) where the *οὐ* in *μὴ οὐ* retains its negative force, as *κρύπτει μὴ οὐκ ἐσθίειν ἄν*, 'hides (i. e. does not confess) that he would *not* like to eat,' (2) where the *οὐ* is merely a repetition of the original negative *οὐ* in the main clause, as in *οὐδεὶς κρύπτει τὸ μὴ οὐκ ἐσθίειν ἄν*, where the *οὐκ* being disregarded as being merely a repetition of the *οὐ* in *οὐδείς*, the sentence must be translated, 'no one could help confessing that he *would* like to eat them:' in this case the infinitive with *μὴ οὐ* has usually the article as here. The Greek rule generally is, wherever you have a negative in the main clause you insert one in the dependent clause, whether it makes sense or not: so here you put *μή* to balance the suppressed negative in *κρύπτω*, and you put *οὐ* to balance the *οὐ* in *οὐδείς*. Although this apparent redundancy of negatives seems odd to us, it is really the natural expression; the untaught boy says, 'I don't know nothing,' without any idea of implying his omniscience; so, as in a comparison the very idea of preference implies rejection or denial, we have in Thucydides (iii. 36), *πόλιν ὅλην διαφθείρειν μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ τοὺς αἰτίους*, 'to destroy the whole city rather than the guilty only,' which is nearly parallel to the rustics' 'it's more *nor* that:' compare 'les Allemands se battent mieux que l'on *ne* pense,' 'the Germans fight better than people think.'

ἡδέως is the important word in the sentence: hence the *ἄν* is attached to it: Germ. '*gern* essen.'

καὶ ὠμῶν, a proverbial expression: cp. Il. 4. 35 *ὠμὸν βεβρώθοις Πρίαμον*, and Anab. 4. 8. 14 *τούτους καὶ ὠμοὺς δεῖ καταφαγεῖν*. The *καί* implies '[whether cooked or] *even* raw.' The genitive is partitive, like our 'eat of.'

l. 233. **Αὐλών**, the place cannot be identified; the meaning of the word is

'a channel' or 'ravine,' and there appear to have been several places of the name in Messenia and Laconia: it was like the word 'Combe' in North Devon.

l. 235. **σκυτάλη**, 'a staff,' then a cypher for writing dispatches. The receipt for using the staff was this: roll a strip of parchment or paper slantwise round it, write lengthwise on the edges of the strip: when unrolled the writing appeared only here and there on the edges, and was quite unintelligible except to the commander, who had a staff of precisely the same size and shape, on which he rolled it, and then read off the dispatch.

τοὺς γεγραμμένους, 'those whose names were written;' Cinadon was intended to imagine he was engaged on a *κρυπτεία* or 'secret commission,' a frequent employment of young Spartans, by which it is supposed the Ephors reduced the number of discontented Helots by secret assassination.

l. 236. **ἄλλα τοιαῦτα**, 'similar commissions,' acc. after *ὑπηρετήκει*.

l. 240. **ἱππαγρέται**, (*ἀγείρω*), or 'collectors of *ἵππεῖς*,' were three Spartan officers who chose the 300 cavalry for the king's body-guard.

l. 241. **τύχωσι παρ-όντες**, see above, l. 164 n.

l. 242. **ἐμεμελήκει ὅπως εἰδείη**. Lat. 'curaverant ut scirent.'

l. 243. **Κινάδωνα δέοι συλ-λαβεῖν**, the position of *Κινάδωνα* makes it emphatic 'that it was Cinadon they were to arrest.'

l. 245. **πεζούς**, 'on foot,' a predicate: cp. note on *δεινότερα*, l. 207.

l. 246. **ἐφ' ἕνα ἐκεῖνον**, 'for (i. e. to arrest) him alone:' cp. ii. 151 n.

l. 248. **τὸ πρᾶγμα**, acc. after *ᾔδεσαν*, 'about the matter,' hence it = *οὐκ ᾔδεσαν ὁπόσον τὸ μέγεθος* [*τοῦ πράγματος*] *εἴη*[1].

l. 251. **τί καὶ βουλόμενος**, 'what he *meant*,' *καί* emphasizes the *main* point of the question, as in *τί ποτε καὶ καλέσαι χρή*, Hell. 2. 47.

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l. 256. **προς-ακούσας**, the preposition adds the force of 'besides.'

l. 257. **τριακοσίας αὐτὰς δέοι γενέσθαι**, 'that they were to be made up to the number of 300;' *δέοι* means 'must,' i. e. according to the king's orders. It was by the recommendation of Pharnabazus that the Persian king equipped this fleet: it was to be put under the command of Conon the Athenian, who had fled to Cyprus after the defeat of Aegospotami (i. 237 n.) and was to act against Sparta. This was the fleet which won the battle of Cnidus, (iv. 50–60.)

l. 258. **εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα** depends on *ἀναγόμενον*, 'the first ship which started for Greece:' for *ἀνάγομαι*, see i. 56.

l. 260. **οὐδὲν ἔφη εἰδέναι**, 'said he did not know at all:' *οὔ φημι* answers to Lat. 'nego,' and means not 'I do not say I do so and so,' but 'I say I do *not*:' the pronoun *αὐτός* is omitted before *εἰδέναι*. Cp. *φάσκων σωθῆναι*, i. 155 n.: observe it is *οὐδέν* not *οὐδέν'* for *οὐδένα*, which would mean 'that no one knew.'

l. 262. **ἐσώθησαν**, 'got safely home:' cp. Introd. p. 41.

l. 263. **ὑπο-στῆναι**, *ἵστημι* is 'to place,' and *ὑπό*, 'under,' hence in the

[1] This is called the *Attic schema* or construction: by it *the subject of the minor sentence is made the object of the major*; as Attic attraction, by making the relative agree with its antecedent like an adjective, shows that a relative sentence is *adjectival* (ii. 257), so the Attic schema shows that the minor sentence is really an object of the major.

middle and intransitive tenses of the active 'to place oneself under an engagement,' 'undertake.'

l. 263. ἦν for ἐάν: ἦν, 'was,' is marked by a circumflex; ἦν, acc. fem. from ὅς, by the aspirate.

l. 264. τριάκοντα Σπαρτιατῶν. Twenty years before this the Spartan oligarchy had made a law that a certain number of Spartans should accompany a king on every expedition, as a check on his proceedings; the cause of this was that the Ephors were jealous of the powers of the kings as commanders-in-chief: the occasion of the law was when Agis made an improvident truce with the Argives at a time when he might have crushed their army altogether, and so have saved the necessity of fighting the first Battle of Mantinea against an Argive and Athenian coalition, B. C. 418.

εἰς δισχιλίους, 'up to 2000.' Cp. εἰς χιλίους, l. 25.

l. 265. νεο-δαμώδεις, ('newly enfranchised,' or 'newly entered in the δᾶμος or δῆμος'), these were Helots who had been freed for their services. The conspiracy of Cinadon showed that there was a great deal of discontent and that the number of the dangerous classes was large: it was necessary to provide some outlet for the brave malcontents; this was supplied by this expedition, which was doubtless encouraged in the interests of the Spartan oligarchy. We must observe again here the nature of the Spartan Supremacy; besides the 30 Commissioners there are no Spartans sent, but 2000 of the freed Helots, who were probably intended to be killed off, and 6000 of the allies, who had no particular interest in the expedition. Cp. l. 25 n.

l. 269. ἥκοι, optative marking the indirect question after a past tense: ἥκω like οἴχομαι is a perfect: ἔρχομαι acts as the present of it.

l. 271. παρ' ἡμῖν,—παρά means 'besides,' dative 'rest at,' hence παρά with dat. 'with us,' 'at our home.'

l. 272. τοίνυν,—τοι (perhaps an old form of σοι), 'let me tell you,' 'in sooth;' νυν, 'now,' colloquially in the sense of 'come *now*,' where 'now' means rather 'then' or 'therefore' than 'at the present time;' the two together mean little more than 'therefore.'

ἕως ἂν . . . πέμψω, all conjunctions compounded with ἄν are followed by the subjunctive mood: ἄν adds an idea of *future* time to the ἕως, so that it means '*until* I have sent;' when ἕως means 'while' or 'as long as,' it is generally followed by the indicative, as ἕως ἔτι ἐλπὶς ἦν, 'while there was yet hope.'

l. 273. ταῦτα δια-πραξάμενον, this participle contains the main idea of the sentence and must be translated in English by a finite verb.

l. 275. οἰοίμην, 'expect that I should be;' οἴομαι frequently implies an idea of *future* time, even when joined with an aorist or *present* as here.

l. 276. ἦ μήν,—ἦ means 'in truth;' μήν, a strengthened form of μέν, 'indeed,' means much the same as Lat. 'vero:' the two are generally combined in oaths, like 'verily.'

μηδέν, observe that μή here follows ὄμνυμι 'to swear,' as in ii. 335, ὀμόσαντες μὴ μνησικακήσειν; in more dramatic Greek, οὐ might have been put, as in Plato Apol. 35 C ὀμώμοκεν οὐ χαριεῖσθαι, where οὐ is the actual negative which would have been used in direct oration; but μή is often attached to the *infinitive*, even in cases where it would not have been used in direct speech.

l. 277. **τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς**, partitive genitive after *μηδέν*.

l. 279. **πρὸς ᾧ εἶχε**, i. e. *πρὸς τούτῳ ὃ εἶχε*, 'in addition to that which he had:' this is an instance of Attic attraction, a construction only employed where the relative would have been in the simple accusative; it serves to bring out the relation of a relative sentence as an *adjective* agreeing with the noun to which it belongs; for the meaning of *πρός* with dative, see above on l. 55.

l. 280. **καίπερ**,—*περ* is probably a shortened form of *πέρι* in the sense of 'very much,' 'however much:' in Attic it is only used with relatives, where it adds the sense of 'just' or 'exactly,' and with other particles as with *καί* here: the two combined mean 'even however much,' i. e. 'although,' Lat. 'quamvis:' it is rarely used with anything except a *participle*.

l. 282. **φρονέω**, 'to be minded,' is generally attached to a neuter adjective, as with *μέγα*, 'to be high minded,' 'presume.'

ἐπί, with dative, adds the force of 'upon' or 'at' a thing.

l. 287. **φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ**, the adjective has here a *predicative* force.

l. 288. **χάριν ἔχειν**, 'to feel gratitude,' Lat. 'gratiam habere.'

l. 289. **πολεμίους**, a predicate: cp. above on *δεινότερα*, l. 207.

l. 291. **ὑποφαίνω**, properly 'to show,' then, as most verbs in Greek as in English can be used intransitively, 'to appear;' *ὑπό*, 'under,' adds the idea of 'being half revealed,' 'to appear a little,' so *ὑποφαίνει ἡμέρα* is used for 'the day is just breaking.'

l. 293. **ἥτις ἄριστα σωμάτων ἔχοι**,—*ἔχειν* with an adverb means 'to find oneself in a certain condition;' a genitive is often added to show '*in* what.'

l. 296. **προς-ήκω**, 'to have come to,' hence 'to befit,' or 'belong to.'

l. 302. **ὑπό**, with the genitive implying *close* connection, means 'under,' esp. of the *agent* 'under whose hand,' i. e. 'by' or 'through whom the act takes place;' so here *ὑπὸ τῶν λῃστῶν* = Lat. 'a latronibus.' *ὑπό* with the dative of 'rest at,' generally implies 'subjection under;' with accusative, 'to bring into subjection under:' cp. *ὑπὸ τῷ νεῷ*, iv. 111.

l. 303. **διὰ-τὸ-μηδέποτε-ἐκδύεσθαι**, cp. note on *διὰ-τὸ-εὐμετάβολος εἶναι*, ii. 89.

l. 305. **δι-οίσειν . . . ἢ εἰ**, as difference implies comparison, so *διαφέρω*, 'to be different,' is used not only with genitive 'from' but with *ἤ*, 'than.'

l. 306. **γυναιξί**, observe the *position*, the word is emphatic.

l. 308. **τὰ κράτιστα τῆς χώρας**, 'the best parts of the country,' meaning 'the country round Sardis,' or the heart of Lydia.

αὐτόθεν, 'from the spot,' or 'at once.'

l. 311. **πάλιν**, the year before Tissaphernes had expected an attack in his own district of Caria; but instead of that, when Agesilaus saw Tissaphernes' troops were concentrated in the south, he had turned northwards and ravaged Phrygia.

l. 312. **τῷ ὄντι**, 'in reality,' 'really,' from *τὸ ὄν*, 'that which really is.'

l. 315. **Σαρδιανὸς τόπος**, 'the district round Sardis.'

l. 318. **κατ-εἶδον**, for the force of *κατά* see on *καθ-ορᾶν*, i. 207.

l. 328. **θεῖν ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς**, 'to run to meet them,' 'charge;' *ὁμόσε ἰέναι* answers to the Lat. 'cominus ire,' 'to come to close quarters;' *ὁμόσε* is

'uniform,' ὁμοῦ, 'together,' the -σε in ὁμό-σε implies 'motion to,' like -δε in οἴκαδε.

l. 329. παρ-αγγέλλω, 'to pass on the word.'

l. 330. ὡς . . . ἑπομένου, 'on the ground that he was following.'

l. 332. ἐν-έκλιναν, ν changes into γ before κ, so that this is ἐγ-κλίνω in the present.

ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ, '*the* river,' which lies between the Persian cavalry and their camp.

l. 333. ἔφευγον, the imperfect tense implies 'they were still flying, while the Greeks sacked the camp.'

l. 335. ἃ εὗρε,—ἃ is the subject; εὑρίσκω is used technically of merchandise, 'to fetch,' 'bring in,' i. e. 'be sold for:' cp. Xen. Econ. 2. 3 πόσον ἂν οἴει εὑρεῖν τὰ σὰ χρήματα πωλούμενα, 'how much do you think they would *fetch*?' and Mem. 2. 5, 5 ὅταν τις οἰκέτην πονηρὸν πωλῇ καὶ ἀποδίδοται τοῦ εὑρόντος, i. e. 'parts with him for what he will *fetch*.'

l. 336. καὶ αἱ κάμηλοι δέ, when δέ and καί are combined, δέ links the sentence, while καί only emphasizes the word to which it is attached.

l. 338. ὅτε means 'at the time when,' and so differs from ἐπεί, which means 'after that,' Lat. 'postquam.'

l. 339. ἔτυχεν ὤν, see on ἔτυχον ἀριστοποιούμενοι, i. 81.

l. 343. αἰτιάομαι, (αἰτία, 'a charge,' Lat. 'crimen'), is used in two ways, (1) αἰτιάομαι αὐτὸν [τοῦ] προδεδωκέναι, where it means 'to accuse,' (2) αἰτιάομαι [κατ' αὐτοῦ τὸ] ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προδεδόσθαι, where it takes the accusative of the charge and means 'I bring as a charge against him.'

l. 344. καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμῖν,—αἴτιος is often followed not only by genitive of the thing but also by the dative of the person as here. πράγματα here has the meaning of 'trouble,' as in the common phrases πράγματα ἔχειν and παρέχειν, 'to have trouble oneself,' or 'to cause trouble to others.'

l. 348. οὐκ ἂν ποιήσειε,—ἄν, 'in any case' always implies an 'if,' which is here supplied by ἄνευ τῶν οἴκοι τελῶν, 'without the authorities at home,' i. e. '*unless* they sent their approval;' τέλος, 'an end,' hence 'a *final* authority:' so here τὰ τέλη, 'the magistrates.'

σὺ δ' ἀλλά,—ἀλλά, 'otherwise,' 'but,' is often used colloquially with an imperative for 'at any rate,' like Lat. 'tandem,' 'I pray;' this is called ἀλλά precantis, ἀλλ' ἴθι is very common in Homer. So ὦ Φίντις ἀλλὰ ζεῦξον, Pind. O. 6. 37.

l. 349. ἕως ἂν πύθῃ. See above on ἕως ἂν πέμψω, l. 272.

τὰ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, sc. πεμφθέντα, 'the orders sent from home.'

μετα-χώρησον, observe the force of the preposition μετά implying *change:* the suggestion that he should remove into the northern satrapy shows how the various satraps played their own game without regard for imperial considerations.

l. 350. καὶ ἐγώ, 'even I [your enemy] have helped you.'

l. 351. τετιμώρημαι, the perfect passive has here a middle sense, because as the middle adopts the new sense of 'to punish' it is practically deponent: cp. τιμωρήσας, l. 70.

ἕως ἂν . . . πορεύωμαι, 'in the meantime while I am going,' the present tense of πορεύωμαι gives the sense of the 'during;' if the aorist subjunctive *had been used* it would have meant 'until I have gone.'

l. 356. **ἔκαε** or **ἔκαε**, '*went on* setting fire to.'

l. 360. **συν-αγαγεῖν αὐτῷ ἄν**,—**ἄν** always implies a condition, 'he thought he could bring Pharnabazus to a meeting with him [if he wished it]:' **ἄν** generally after the verb is here put after **αὐτῷ**, because *συναγαγεῖν-αὐτῷ* form one idea.

l. 365. **ῥαπτόν**, 'sewn,' (*ῥάπτω*, 'to sew'), neut. 'a sewn' or 'embroidered carpet.'

l. 367. **φαυλότης**, generally 'vileness,' here 'simplicity,' (**φαῦλος** or **φλαῦρος**, 'paltry,' akin to **παῦρος**, 'few,' and Lat. 'paullum').

l. 368. **ὥσπερ εἶχε**,—**ἔχω** here intrans. 'to find oneself,' 'to be:' observe the force of **περ**, 'exactly,' '*just* as he was.'

l. 369. **καὶ γάρ**, 'and [no wonder] for,' i. e. 'for in fact,' introducing an additional fact which makes the previous statement more probable.

l. 371. **ὅτε . . . ἐπολεμεῖτε**, observe the tense and the distinction between **ὅτε** and **ἐπεί**, l. 338 n.

l. 374. **αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου μαχόμενος**, an incident of the Battle at Abydos; when Alcibiades suddenly arrived with fresh ships in the midst of the battle, the Spartans fled in panic, but Pharnabazus, who was coming up to the rescue, jumped on his horse and went into the sea, fighting, as far as he could, and helped to save some of the Spartan ships from being carried off by the Athenian fleet. This was B.C. 411, just before the battle of Cyzicus, see p. 5.

l. 375. **διπλόος**, 'twofold,' hence 'doubleminded,' 'treacherous,' Lat. 'duplex,' and opp. to **ἁπλοῦς**, which is used for 'simple,' as in 'if thine eye be single.'

l. 377. **κατ-ηγορῆσαι**,—observe the construction: **δίπλουν** is an accusative of the *charge*, and **Τισσαφέρνους** and **μου** are the genitives of the person against whom the charge is made: observe that the participles **ποιήσαντος** and **εἰπόντος** which agree with **μου**, not having the article, have a *causal* sense, '*for* having done.'

l. 378. **διά-κειμαι** is used as perf. pass. of **διατίθημι**, 'I have been so handled.'

ὡς οὐδὲ δεῖπνον ἔχω,—**ὡς** for **ὥστε**, the indicative laying stress on the *fact*, 'so . . . that I *actually* cannot get:' **οὐδέ**, 'not even,' Lat. 'ne coenam quidem.'

l. 383. **κατα-κεκομμένα** refers to the **παραδείσους δένδρων**, and **κατα-κεκαυμένα** to the **οἰκήματα**. **τὰ μέν** and **τὰ δέ** answer to one another as 'the one' and 'the other.'

l. 384. **ὅσια καὶ δίκαια**,—**ὅσιος**, 'what is sanctioned by law of God or Nature' is often thus opposed to **δίκαιος**, 'what is held right by the law of men.'

l. 385. **ὑμεῖς δὲ διδάξατε**,—the particle **δέ** is often thus used to mark the apodosis or main sentence, especially after a previous conditional clause: the conditional clause is really equivalent to a clause with **μέν**; 'if I do not understand what is right . . ., why you must tell me.'

ὅπως ταῦτ' ἐστίν, '*how* these things are,' **ὅπως** marking the indirect question. like Lat. '*ut*,' 'quomodo,' cp. ii. 11 n.: observe that in Greek the indirect question is more dramatic than in Latin, as it is always put in the indicative, like the direct question, when the time is present; in past time the normal construction is the optative, but the indicative is often dramatically used.

l. 385. **ἐπισταμένων**,—**ἐπίσταμαι**, 'to know,' must never be confounded with **ἐφίσταμαι**, 'to be set over.'

l. 387. **ἐπ-ησχύνθησαν αὐτόν**,—the accusative is not elsewhere used with **ἐπαισχύνομαι**, 'to be ashamed at [what he said].'

l. 388. **χρόνῳ**, 'after some time,' **ποτέ**, 'at last:' cp. Lat. 'tandem aliquando.'

l. 392. **τοῖς ἐξενωμένοις**, dat. after **πολεμοῦσι**, 'fight against.'

l. 393. **ἐὰν οὕτω τύχωσι**, sc. **πράττοντες**.

ἔστιν-ὅτε, 'there is when,' i. e. 'sometimes' = **ἐνιότε**,

l. 396. **περὶ παντὸς ἂν ποιησαίμεθα**,—**ποιέομαι**, 'to make to oneself,' i. e. 'consider;' **περί** means 'around,' then, like Lat. 'prae,' 'beyond' or 'before,' also of value, as here, 'worth everything,' as we say 'embracing all other advantages:' so **περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖσθαι**, Lat. 'magni facere.'

l. 397. **ἀλλάττω**, 'to change,' hence especially in mid. 'to take in exchange.'

l. 398. **συν-εβούλευον ἄν**,—**ἄν** with the past tenses of the indicative is especially used of *un*fulfilled conditions, (i. e. of contingencies which have *not* come off), expressed in English by the past conditional 'should have,'—'in that case I should not have been now advising to take this step.'

l. 399. **ἔξεστί σοι γενομένῳ . . . ἔχοντα**,—observe that the dative passes into the accusative with infinitive, because the construction of accusative and infinitive is so common.

l. 400. **καίτοι**, generally 'and yet,' to mark an objection: here rather 'and let me tell you,' 'and indeed.'

l. 401. **τῶν ὄντων χρημάτων**,—**πᾶς** when between article and substantive means '*absolutely* all,' cp. i. 90.

l. 403. **μή**,—after **κελεύομεν** above.

l. 404. **ὁμοδούλους σοι**,—observe that even the satraps or viceroys are considered as slaves: cp. above, l. 105, where Mania is said to *belong* to Pharnabazus.

l. 406. **τίνος ἂν δέοις μὴ οὐχὶ εὐδαίμων εἶναι**, 'in what would you be short of being absolutely happy?' here **δέω** means 'to want,' i. e. 'not to have,' a quasi-negative, hence followed by **μή**: while the interrogative **τίνος** really = **οὐδένος**, since 'what would you want?' is only a rhetorical way of saying 'you would want nothing:' see above note on **οὐδένα κρύπτειν μὴ οὐκ ἐσθίειν**, l. 230.

l. 408. **οὐκοῦν ἀπο-κρίνωμαι**,—the 1st pers. subj. is used absolutely for 'let me answer,' hence with an interrogative, 'shall I answer?' (often with **βούλει** added. 'do you wish me to answer?')—*deliberative* subj. cp. l. 92 n.

l. 409. **γοῦν**, i. e. **γε οὖν**, 'at least then,' 'at any rate,' 'anyhow.'

l. 414. **λαμβάνω**, mid. with genitive, 'to take hold of.'

εἴθε γένοιο, pure optative, Lat. 'talis cum sis, utinam noster esses.'

l. 415. **δ' οὖν**, 'but then,' i. e. 'be that as it may,' breaking off, like Lat. 'ceterum.'

l. 416. **ἐπίστω**, cp. l. 385 n.

l. 417. **τοῦ λοιποῦ**, genitive of time, 'at any point in the future:' cp. **νυκτός**, i. 5.

ἕως ἂν ἔχωμεν, cp. l. 351. **ἔχω** here has the sense of 'being able,' cp. sect. ii. 114, **εἰ ἔχεις εἰπεῖν**.

l. 422. **ἐγὼ δέ γε δέχομαι,**—**γε** is often used in answers, 'Yes truly, and I accept it.'

γυν without the circumflex is like 'come now,' i. e. 'come, I pray.'

l. 424. **περι-ελών,**—the force of the preposition is 'from round' his horse's neck.

l. 425. **μετ-εδίωκε,**—*μετά* here means 'after.'

l. 427. **δι' ἐκεῖνον,**—*διά*, 'through,' with genitive, 'by means of,' with accusative implying 'to,' 'going through to come to,' of the object aimed at, 'for his sake.'

l. 428. **ἐγ-κρίνω**, 'to reckon in or among,' 'admit to,' here with acc. *τὸ στάδιον*, 'allowed to enter in the foot-race:' according to Plutarch it was a boys' race, and he was over age. In this story we have the key to Agesilaus' character, chivalry combined with unscrupulousness; he neglected his duty of fairness to all Greece in order to discharge his romantic debt of honour to this boy. Disinterested with regard to himself, he promoted the encroachments and screened the injustices of others.

l. 434. **ἄνω**, 'up,' i. e. into the interior.

l. 435. **ἀπο-στῆσειν**, transitive, 'make to revolt.' How this great crusade against Persia was interrupted will be told in the beginning of the next Section.

SECTION IV.

THE COALITION AGAINST SPARTA.

B.C. 394—385.

1. THE BATTLE OF CORONEA, B.C. 394.

(Grote, lxxiv. Smith, p. 446; smaller ed. p. 154.)

l. 1. **ὁ μέντοι Τιθραύστης**, the 'however' refers back to the end of the last Section, which described Agesilaus as proceeding to march into the interior of Asia Minor. Tithraustes had beheaded Tissaphernes and succeeded him as satrap.

l. 2. **κατα-φρονοῦντα**, verbs of judging, feeling, knowing, etc., are usually followed by the participle where we say, '*that* he does,' and where the Latins would use the infinitive, cp. *ᾔδεσαν ζῶντας*, ii. 8.

τῶν πραγμάτων, 'the affairs,' 'the government' or 'power' Cp. ii. 37 *κοινωνοὺς τῶν πραγμάτων*.

l. 4. **αἱρέω**, lit. 'take,' hence 'conquer,' 'overpower.'

l. 5. **εἰς πεντήκοντα τάλαντα**, 'up to 50 talents,' cp. iii. 25 n.: a talent (i.e. 60 lb. weight in silver) would be nearly 250*l.* = 60 minae = 6000 drachmae or francs. Cp. note on *ὀβολόν*, i. 41.

l. 7. **ἐφ' ᾧτε . . . ἐξ-οίσειν,—ἐφ' ᾧτε** or more fully *ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐφ' ᾧτε*, 'on the terms on which' is followed by the infinitive, as if it were *ἐπὶ τῷ ἐξοίσειν* or *ὥστε ἐξοίσειν*, cp. iii. 74 *ἐφ' ᾧτε ἐᾶν*.

l. 8. **Ἰσμηνίᾳ**, the patriotic Theban democrat, who had helped Thrasybulus and the exiles in re-establishing the Democracy at Athens; his fate is recorded in sect. v. Hist. Intr. p. 86.

l. 9. **τοῖς προ-εστηκόσιν**, *ἕστηκα* means 'I have placed myself,' or 'I stand,' hence this means those who were placed at the head of affairs: the perfect (with plupf.) and 2nd aor. of *ἵστημι* are intransitive, the present (with impf.), future and 1st aor. are transitive, so *συνίστασαν*, l. 14.

l. 11. **εἰς τὸν πόλεμον**, observe the *εἰς* does not merely mean 'into,' but as here 'for,' i.e. 'to enter into;' so with words of speaking it means 'to' or 'before,' as in *διέβαλλον εἰς*, below.

δεξάμενοι, *δέχομαι, δέξομαι, ἐδεξάμην*, 'to receive,' must be carefully distinguished from *δείκνυμι, δείξω, ἔδειξα*, 'to show.'

l. 12. **δι-έβαλλον**, observe the tense; '*kept* maligning.'

l. 13. **ἐπεί**, '*after* that,' Lat. 'postquam:' **ὅτε** would be 'at the same time as.'

l. 15. **ἐν τούτῳ**, sc. **τῷ χρόνῳ**, 'in this time,' 'meanwhile.'

l. 16. **ἐμ-βαλόντες**, here intrans. 'having thrown themselves or their army into it,' 'having invaded it.' Cp. i. 116 n.

l. 19. **ἀξιόω**, 'to claim' or 'beg:' the infinitive is used as freely in Greek as in English, hence **βοηθεῖν**, an oblique petition, 'begged them *to* aid;' so in next line we have **στρατεύειν** depending on a noun, 'welcomed the excuse *to* attack.'

l. 22. **τοῦ ἐξ-άγειν**, 'an opportunity of marching;' the Greek infinitive with the article answers to the English gerund in '*-ing*,' which is really a corrupt form of a noun ending in '-ung,' and is not to be confounded with the participle in '-ing.'

l. 23. **παύω** in active is transitive. So it is 'to make them to cease from,' in mid. intrans. 'to cease from.'

τά τε γὰρ ἐν Ἀσίᾳ depends on **ἐλογίζοντο** [they considered] 'that both their policy in Asia was successful.' **καλῶς ἔχειν**, is 'to find itself well,' 'be in a successful state,' so l. 26 **δυσμενῶς εἶχον αὐτοῖς**, 'were ill-disposed towards them;' **ἔχω** is very commonly used thus with adverbs. Cp. **καλῶς ἔχοι**, i. 110.

l. 28. **Θρασύβουλος**, the restorer of the Athenian Democracy, ii. 168.

l. 29. **καὶ . . . ὄντος**, 'even though it was,' like **καίπερ** with part., iii. 280.

l. 31. **οὐ συν-εστρατεύετε**, 'merely refused to assist Sparta in attacking us;' this was when Sparta joined with the Tyrants in attacking the Democratic leaders in the Piraeus during the Athenian Revolution. Thrasybulus contrasts the mere neutrality of the Thebans on that occasion, with the actual assistance he now offers them.

l. 34. **συν-εστηκυίας**, for the part., cp. l. 2 n.

ἐπὶ πολέμῳ,—**ἐπί**, meaning 'upon,' and dative 'rest at,' **ἐπί** with dative means 'on terms of' or 'for the purpose of,' cp. **ἐφ' Ἑλλήνων πολέμῳ**, iii. 132 n.

l. 36. **χαλεπῶς φέρειν**, Lat. 'aegrè ferre,' 'to be discontented.'

l. 37. **ἀπο-στέροιτο**, the optative here marks the indirect question after the past tense.

l. 39. **ἐβοήθει**, observe use of imperf., 'was *on his way* to assist the L.' For the difference between imperf. and aor., compare **ἐργαζόμεναι ἥριστων, ἐργασάμεναι ἐδείπνουν**, 'they used to take their breakfast *while they were at work*, and their supper *when they had done it*.' (Mem. 2. 7, 12.)

l. 40. **δι-αλλάσσω**, 'interchange,' hence 'change one land for another,' 'pass through.'

l. 42. **πλαίσιον**, (cp. **πλατύς**, 'broad,' and our 'flat'), an oblong figure, esp. of an army marching in an oblong mass or square, as opp. to marching in long columns: this formation was generally only adopted in a retreat.

l. 44. **ἐπ-ήλαυνον**, 'as soon as the enemy began to ride against them or charge.'

l. 45. **καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἱππικόν**,—**καί** 'as well' [as the cavalry already in the rear]. **στόμα**, 'the mouth,' hence 'the front' of an army, cp. iii. 90: an army is spoken of metaphorically as a wild beast, hence **στόμα**.

'jaws,' i.e. 'van' or 'front:' *μέτωπον*, 'forehead,' 'for line of battle:' *κέρας*, 'horn,' for what we call 'the wing' of an army (only in Greek an army might be considered as two wings with no centre); *πλευραί*, 'flanks:' *οὐρά*, 'tail' or 'rear.'

l. 46. **φίλιος**, 'friendly,' esp. in fem. sc. *χωρά*, 'a friendly country,' i.e. belonging to a friendly power, as opp. to *ἡ πολεμία*. This was when he crossed Mt. Othrys and came into Doris and Phocis. See Map of Hellas.

l. 47. **μέχρι πρός,**—*μέχρι* being (1) properly an adverb, 'to a given point,' is joined to prepositions as here, like Lat. 'usque ad:' it is also used (2) as prep. with genitive, and also (3) as a conjunction. Cp. i. 58, vi. 201.

l. 48. **ἐμ-βάλλοντι**, observe the force of the tense, 'just as he was *entering*,' whereas in the case of **ἐμβαλόντες**, l. 16, it was not till the act of invasion was *completed* that they could have got the spoils.

l. 49. **μηνο-ειδής** (*μήνη*, 'moon'), 'crescent-shaped,' Lat. 'lunatus,' i.e. 'partially eclipsed.' An eclipse was considered a sign of calamity.

l. 50. **τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ,**—'*the* [long expected] sea-fight' for which 300 ships had been put into commission by the Persians, cp. iii. 257: the article is used as if the reader already knew that the battle had taken place.

Πείσανδρος,—Agesilaus had been made the head of the naval as well as of the land force, two commands never before united in a single Spartan: he had appointed Pisander, who was his brother-in-law, as admiral.

l. 51. **τεθναίη**. *θνήσκειν* is 'to be dying,' *θανεῖν*, 'to die,' *τεθνάναι* or *τεθνηκέναι*, 'to be dead' or 'lie dead,' the perfect implying that 'it is all over.' The optative is used with *ὅτι* to mark oblique oration.

l. 54. **Κόνων,**—Conon was the Athenian admiral who had escaped from the defeat at Aegospotami (i. 237 n.): he had been living with Evagoras, king of Rhodes, and was selected by Pharnabazus, as the ablest naval officer, for the command of the combined Greek and Phoenician fleet, which was raised with the money sent from Artaxerxes.

l. 56. **τὸ Ἑλληνικόν**, sc. *στράτευμα* or *μέρος τῶν νεῶν*, 'the Greek contingent' as opposed to the Phoenician ships under Pharnabazus: this contingent was raised by Conon as a mercenary force: the Athenians had taken no part in his enterprise.

l. 60. **ἐσώζοντο εἰς**, 'were getting safely into,' *while* he was fighting: the imperfect dramatically depicts their escape as *in progress*. For the sense of *σώζω* here, cp. iii. 262, **ἐσώθησαν**, 'got safely home,' of the 10,000 Greeks.

l. 62. **ἀποθνήσκω**, 'to be killed,' being used as passive of *ἀποκτείνω*.

l. 64. **χαλεπῶς φέρειν**, like Lat. 'aegrè ferre,' 'to bear with difficulty,' 'take to heart,' here 'feel dismayed.'

l. 65. **χαλεπόν**, 'disadvantageous,' or 'disastrous.'

l. 66. **ἀγγέλλοιτο . . . νικῴη**,—the simple construction would be *νικῶν*: 'it is reported that Pisander has won a victory, though he fell himself;' both the victory and the death of Pisander depending on *ἀγγέλλοιτο*, that is, on the truth of the report; but the subtle Greek, by making *νικῴη* directly dependent on *ἔλεγεν* and not on *ἀγγέλλοιτο*, makes it seem *as if the victory was certain but Pisander's death was uncertain*, being merely dependent on the truth of the report.

l. 67. **τετελευτηκώς**,—in Greek, verbs of the senses are followed by participles: Greek 'I feel being alive'=Eng. 'I feel that I am alive,' Lat.

'sentio me vivere;' cp. ἤδεσαν ζῶντας, ii. 8: so less commonly with 'verba declarandi,' as here, but compare ζῶντες ἠγγελμένοι ἦσαν, 'it had been reported that they were alive,' vi. 147 n. Copulative verbs are used personally in Greek as in Latin, 'he is said to be,' where we say 'it is said that he is.'

l. 70. δή, 'then,' 'accordingly;' often of pretences, 'according to what was said,' 'forsooth.' Cp. v. 145.

l. 74. μόρα ἡ δια-βᾶσα, 'a division which had crossed over [the Corinthian gulf],' the Isthmus being in the hands of the Coalition; so Agesilaus had himself to return on shipboard, ἀπέπλευσεν ἐπ' οἴκου, l. 122. A Spartan division or regiment contained some four or five companies of under 100 men: besides these 400 the only other reinforcement he received from Greece was the contingent from Orchomenus, which joined him from jealousy of the Theban ascendancy in Boeotia.

l. 79. τῶν γ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν, 'at least of those in our time,' ἐπί meaning 'upon,' and the genitive implying 'of' or 'in,' ἐπί with gen. is often used for 'in the time of:' cp. τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἱππεύσαντας, iii. 29 n.

l. 80. Κηφισοῦ,—the Cephissus was *north* of the battle-field: it was a river running from the west into the Lake Copais. (There was another Cephissus at Athens.) Remember that the Spartan army came overland from Asia, and was therefore descending from the north. See Plan at end.

l. 81. Ἑλικῶνος,—Helicon was a range of hills *south* of the battle-field.

l. 82. τοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ, sc. στρατεύματος, as τὸ Ἑλληνικόν above, l. 56.

l. 86. ἡνίκα marks an exact point of time, 'at the moment when.'

l. 87. ὁμόσε ἐφέροντο, 'began to charge,' cp. iii. 328 n.

l. 88. οἱ Κυρεῖοι, 'the Cyreians,' i.e. the remnant of the 10,000 Greeks who had marched with Cyrus. Xenophon himself was among them, and fought against the Athenians.

l. 90. εἰς δόρυ, i.e. εἰς δόρατος πληγήν, 'within spear's thrust,' as we say 'crossing bayonets.'

ἐτρέψαντο,—the 1 aor. mid. is used in an active sense, 'to turn an enemy away *from oneself*,' 'to rout him.'

τὸ καθ' αὑτοὺς [μέρος τοῦ στρατεύματος],—κατά meaning 'down,' then with accusative (implying 'over' or 'along') 'near;' hence of an enemy, 'facing one,' 'opposite:' 'those who faced them' must have been the Athenians and the Corinthians.

l. 91. μέντοι, '[the centre had made *some* resistance], the Argives *however* made *none*.' The prowess of the Thebans had not yet dispelled the awe in which the Spartan infantry was held.

τοὺς περὶ Ἀγησίλαον,—this was the battalion of Spartan infantry which had crossed over the gulf of Corinth, and having joined Agesilaus before the battle (l. 74), were now posted with him on the right.

l. 93. οἱ μέν τινες,—one party, consisting of some of his foreign allies, the τινὲς τῶν ξένων specifies who the οἱ μέν were: τις is sometimes used quite pleonastically, ὁ μέν τις . . . ὁ δέ τις: in the phrases οἱ μέν and οἱ δέ the article ὁ retains its demonstrative force even in Attic, as also in phrases like τοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ, l. 82, τὸ καθ' αὑτούς, l. 90, and τοὺς ἑαυτῶν, 'those of their own side,' l. 98.

l. 96. ἐξ-ελίσσω, 'to unroll,' often like Lat. 'explicare,' 'to increase the front by deploying,' here 'to change front to the rear.'

l. 97. **πρὸς Ἑλικῶνι.** The dative implies 'rest in' not 'motion towards,' so it is not 'having fled to Helicon,' but '*at* Helicon, having fled there.'

l. 98. **δια-πεσεῖν,** 'cut their way through,' 'effect their *retreat* through,' cp. note on vi. 289, where it also means 'fell *back* through.'

συ-σπειράω, (*σπεῖρα*, Lat. 'spira,' a 'coil' of rope, or 'close body' of men), 'to roll up together,' 'form in close order.'

l. 100. **ἀνδρεῖον,** a predicate, 'to say *that he was* brave;' **τὸν ἀνδρεῖον** would be an epithet of **Ἀγησίλαον**: see on **δεινότερα τὰ ἱερά,** iii. 207.—Xenophon took Agesilaus for his hero: he wrote an account of him, which is simply an elaborate panegyric, and disgusts the reader by its monotony; and so here he brings in a commendation of his *bravery* where it is rather undeserved, as what he did was simply the most obvious thing to do under the circumstances. Grote remarks that Agesilaus, from never having fought with the Thebans, probably underrated their prowess, and adds that if he had adopted what Xenophon calls 'the safest course' he could not have pursued the Thebans far, as they could soon have rejoined the rest of their forces: this, however, Xenophon seems to have seen, as he only says 'he might have cut down *those in the rear*' (**τοὺς ὄπισθεν**).

ἀμφισ-βητ-έω, (*βαίνω*), is 'to go both ways,' 'go asunder,' 'dispute;' hence adv. **-ήτως,** with a negative (ἀ- or ἀν-), 'indisputably,' 'undoubtedly.'

l. 101. **γε** strengthens the *μέντοι*, and means 'whatever else he did[1].'

ἐξ-όν, neut. part. from *ἔξ-εστι*, 'it being possible for him:' the accusative being used to imply any relation which is not one of the more definite local relations expressed by the other cases, is often thus absolutely, 'during a time when:' cp. **τέλος,** l. 105, and **τὸ τελευταῖον,** 'at last.'

παρ-έντι. *παρ-ών* is pres. part. of *πάρ-ειμι*, 'to be present;' *παρ-ιών*, of *πάρ-ειμι*, 'to go by;' *παρ-είς*, 2 aor. part. of *παρ-ίημι*, 'to allow to go by,' 'let pass.'

l. 102. **χειρόομαι,** (*χείρ*), 'to bring into one's hand,' 'overpower.'

l. 103. **ἀντι-μέτωπος,** 'face against face:' the word comes from *μέτωπον*, 'the forehead' (*μετά*, *ὤψ*, 'between the eyes'), hence 'the *line* of an army which fronts you.'

συρ-ράσσω, (or *συρ-ρήγνυμι*), intr. 'to dash together,' 'fight with;' Lat. 'confligere.'

l. 104. **συμ-βάλλω τὰς ἀσπίδας,** 'strike shield against shield.'

ἐωθοῦντο, κ. τ. λ. A pell-mell fight could hardly be described more graphically than by these four verbs: the omission of any conjunction between them marks the rapidity of the actions. Cp. Cyrop. 7. 1, 38 *προσπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο· ἐώθουν, ἐωθοῦντο· ἔπαιον, ἐπαίοντο*: so also Caesar's words 'veni, vidi, vici.' This construction is called a-syn-deton from ἀ, *σύν*, *δέω*, because the verbs are not bound together by conjunctions.

l. 105. **τέλος,** the adverbial accusative, 'at the end,' 'at last.'

l. 107. **ἀπο-χωροῦντες,** 'as they were retreating;' observe the force of the imperf.

l. 110. **ὡς,** 'as it were,' hence with numbers 'about.'

l. 111. **ὑπὸ τῷ νεῷ,**—*ὑπό* meaning 'under' and the dative implying 'rest at,' *ὑπό* with the dative is the proper construction to express 'rest under;' but as a matter of fact *ὑπό* is generally used in prose with the genitive in this sense: *ὑπό* with dative for 'under' being more common in poetry: here

[1] **γε** generally implies another sentence beginning with 'whatever else...,' *cp. l. 204.*

perhaps there is implied 'under the protection of,' but cp. vi. 250. *ὑπὸ τὸν νεών* would be used for '*going* under.' Observe the distinction between the former *νεῷ* from *νεώς* or *ναός*, *νέῳ* from *νέος* and *νηΐ* from *ναῦς*.

l. 113. **τὸ θεῖον**, 'the divine,' i. e. 'the reverence due to the temple.' In Greek the neuter article is frequently used to make a substantive out of an adjective.

ἐᾶν. Observe the distinction between *ἐάν*, 'if,' and *ἐᾶν* = *ἐᾶειν* (or rather *ἐάειν*, cp. i. 172 n.), inf. of *ἐάω*; the full construction would be *ἐκέλευεν* [*αὐτοὺς*] *ἐᾶν* [*τοὺς πολεμίους*] *ἀπ-ιέναι ᾗ* [*ὁδῷ*] *βούλοιντο*.

l. 116. **πολέμαρχος**,—a Polemarch at Sparta was a commander of a division, so here the head of the *μόρα* which had crossed over from Corinth (l. 74 n.). At Thebes the Polemarch was one of the chief officers of state (v. 18).

l. 118. **τῷ θεῷ**,—dative of remote object, 'for a sacrifice to' or 'in honour of the god.'

l. 120. **ὑπο-σπόνδους**. Asking leave to recover the dead under a truce was the regular form of admitting a defeat, as it implied that those who granted the truce had remained in possession of the field. The Spartans had drawn the Theban dead within their lines on purpose to get this honour (cp. Xen. Agesil.)

l. 122. **ἀπ-έπλευσε**,—Agesilaus and the Spartans had to cross the gulf of Corinth, because the allies held the isthmus; the other troops on his side had no occasion to cross as they returned to Asia, Orchomenus, etc.

l. 123. **ἐπ' οἶκου**, 'home-*wards*,' lit. '*on* [the line of] home.' Cp. i. 79 n.

2. INCIDENTS OF THE WAR, B.C. 388.

(Grote, lxxv.)

l. 126. **πολι-ορκέω**, from *πόλις* and *εἴργω*, 'to shut in,' (*ἕρκος*, 'a fence'); hence 'to blockade a city.'

l. 129. **Τελευτίας**, brother of Agesilaus.

l. 131. **ἀπ-ήλασε**, sc. *ὁ Τελευτίας*.

l. 135. **μακαριώτατα δή**,—*δή*, 'then,' 'certainly,' adds force to the superlative, 'in the happiest way *possible*.'

l. 136. **ἐπ' οἴκου**, cp. l. 123 n.

l. 137. **δεξιόομαι**, 'to grasp with the right hand' (*δεξία*).

l. 138. **ταινιόω**, 'to deck with a fillet (*ταινία*) or ribbon of twisted wool,' such as was given to successful athletes.

ὑστερέω, (*ὕστερος*), 'to be too late.'

l. 139. **καὶ ἀν-αγομένου**, 'even when he was putting off;' for *καί*, cp. l. 29 n., and for *ἀνάγομαι*, i. 56 n.

l. 140. **πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθά**, 'many blessings;' the Greeks say 'many and good things' and 'large *and* rough stones,' etc., where we should use no conjunction.

l. 146. **τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου**,—a pregnant use of the preposition, 'took those *in* the fort out of it.' Cp. ii. 186 n.

l. 147. **πράγματα ἔχω**, 'to have trouble,' 'be troubled by.' The active is supplied by *πράγματα παρέχω*, 'to give trouble.'

l. 150. **Ἀνταλκίδας**, see Introduction to 'Peace of Antalcidas,' p. 76.

l. 153. **ταῖς δώδεκα**, '*the* twelve' mentioned above.

l. 154. **τότε μέν**,—the *μέν* shows that the flight was merely preliminary to immediate preparations for a pursuit; *though* he fled then, yet he fed his crew at once, and soon followed (l. 160). Observe the dramatic accuracy of the tenses here: he '*finished* disembarking his crew, then *was* giving them their meal *while* Eunomus *was* sailing away; then he embarked and *kept* following'.

l. 158. **ὥσπερ νομίζεται**, 'as is held customary,' i.e. for the commanding ship to have a light. *νομίζω* is here used in its primary sense, 'to hold as a custom' (*νόμος*).

l. 159. **πλανῶνται** for *πλανῷντο*. To gain greater dramatic vividness the Greeks often disregard the rule of the sequence of tenses, and put a present tense instead of a past.

l. 160. **κατά**, 'down along,' 'according to,' 'after the light.'

l. 161. **κελευστής**, (*κελεύω*, 'to exhort'), 'a boatswain.' The boatswains generally gave the time with their voices; on this occasion they dropped stones at the time for beginning the stroke, that the enemy might not hear them.

l. 162. **παρ-αγωγή**, lit. 'leading by,' then of 'sliding motion' of oars, so that they made no noise going in or out of the water; *π. τῶν κωπῶν*, 'with muffled oars.'

l. 163. **πρὸς τῇ γῇ**, cp. *πρὸς πόλει*, i. 212.

l. 164. **τῇ σάλπιγγι**, 'with the trumpet;' dative of the instrument with which he gave the signal.

l. 166. **κατ-έπλεον**, i. e. '*before* they had reached the shore;' observe the force of the tense.

l. 169. **ᾤχετο ἄγων**,—when **οἴχομαι** occurs with a participle, the participle is to be translated as if it were the main verb, *οἴχομαι*, 'I am gone,' being rendered adverbially 'away,' 'off;' so with *τυγχάνω*, as below, l. 179, *ἔτυχον παρ-όντες*, 'they were present *at the time*.' Cp. i. 31 n.

l. 173. **ἀπο-βάς**, Lat. 'egressus [nave],' 'when he had disembarked.' So *ἐξέβαινον*, l. 166, 'were in the act of disembarking.'

l. 174. **σύγ-κειμαι**, 'to lie or be placed together,' hence 'to be agreed,' as if it were the passive of *συντίθημι*.

l. 175. **ἧκω** acts as the *perfect* of *ἔρχομαι*, so *ἦκον* is used here; they *had* arrived, had disembarked, and already *ἀνέβαινον*.

l. 176. **ἐπ-έκεινα**, i. e. *ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα*, 'to that side of,' 'beyond,' c. gen.

ἀνα-βαίνω, 'to go up,' 'off from the coast,' 'march inland.' So Xenophon's *Ἀνά-βασις* is the 'march inland.'

l. 178. **ἐπι-βάτης**, (*βαίνω*), 'a soldier on board ship,' 'a marine.'

Σπαρτιάτης, one of the aristocracy or ruling class at Lacedaemon: their numbers being few, their lives were proportionably valuable. (See p. 49, and the account of Leuctra, sect. vi.)

l. 179. **πλήρωμα**, (*πληρόω*, 'to fulfil;' *πλήρης*, 'full'), 'the complement of a ship,' or 'crew,'=*οἱ ἐρεταί*, hence *ὅσ-οι* below in the masculine.

ἔτυχον παρ-όντες, cp. l. 169 n.

l. 181. **ὅ τι ... ἔχων**, i. e. **ἔχοντες** [**τὰ ὅπλα**] **ὅ τι ὅπλον ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο** [**ἔχειν**].

l. 182. **παρ-αλλάσσω**, 'to interchange,' hence 'to change one's position relatively to another person,' 'to pass by.'

l. 183. **οἱ περὶ τὸν Χαβρίαν**. In English the expression 'those about Chabrias' would not necessarily include Chabrias himself: in Greek it necessarily includes him, so that it is 'Chabrias and his men;' **οἱ ἀμφὶ Κρίτωνα** is even used for *Crito* (and no one else).

l. 185. **ἅτε**, an adverbial accusative from **ὅστε**, lit. 'along of which,' i. e. 'as,' 'since,' like **ὡς**.

l. 186. **ἀθρόοι**, 'crowded together,' 'in close order.'

l. 186. **ἀπ-έθανον**, cp. l. 62 n.

l. 187. **ἐτράπησαν δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι**, '*then in fine* the rest *too* were put to flight.'

l. 192. **οὐκ ἐθέλω** is not merely 'not to wish' but to 'refuse;' so **οὔ φημι**, not 'I do not say,' but 'I deny.'

l. 200. **ὡς πλεῖστα** [**δύναμαι**], Lat. 'quam plurima,' 'as much as possible.'

l. 201. **εὖ ἴστε ... εὔχομαι, κ. τ. λ.** **εὖ ἴστε** is parenthetical; the sense is, 'be well assured, as (**τε**) I care as much for your lives as for my own, so (**τε**) in the matter of *provisions* I care more for your having them than I do for having them myself.'

l. 202. **ἢ καὶ ἐμαυτόν**. **καί** is often thus attached to a single word, where we put *also*, *even*, or the pronoun *self:* here it gives emphasis to 'myself,' or 'my *own* life.'

l. 203. **νὴ** (**δμνυμι**) **τοὺς θεούς**, 'yea, [I swear] by heaven.' **νή** and **μά** are frequently thus used in oaths.

δέχομαι, δέξομαι, ἐδεξάμην, 'to receive,' 'accept gladly,' 'choose,' or with **μᾶλλον** as here, 'prefer,' must not be confounded with **δείκνυμι, δείξω, ἔδειξα**, 'to show,' 'point out.'

l. 204. **ἥ γε μὴν θύρα, κ. τ. λ.** This sentence illustrates the use of several of the Greek particles: **γε μήν,—γε**, 'at any rate,' '[whatever else you deny] you cannot deny this;' **μήν** (**μέν**, 'firstly'), 'indeed,' 'assuredly;' the two together meaning 'yet certainly.'—**ἀνέῳκτο μέν,—μέν**, 'firstly,' as opposed to **δέ**, 'secondly,' marking the preliminary or *unimportant* part of the sentence:—**δήπου,—δή**, 'then,' 'accordingly;' **που**, 'somehow' or 'I fancy so;' so **δήπου**, 'I imagine,' 'perhaps.'—**καὶ πρόσθεν,—καί** with **πρόσθεν**, 'before *also*' [as well as now].—**ἀνεῴξεται δέ,—δέ** marking the important part of the sentence, 'much more;' **καὶ νῦν,—καί** with **νῦν**, '*now* [as well as then], even under these new circumstances.'

'[You might wonder at my saying that I care more about getting food for you than for myself,] yet as a matter of fact (**γε μήν**, i. e. 'I can only say'), if (**μέν**) my door *was*[1] opened in *former* times for any one to come who wanted anything of me, much more (**δέ**) shall it be open to you now.'

Observe (1) that if **γε** was alone it would belong to **θύρα** only, 'my *door*, if not everything else of mine;' but **γε μήν** combined belong to the whole sentence.

(2) though **μέν** does not mean 'if' but 'firstly,' yet 'if,' 'while,' 'although,' mark that a sentence is merely preliminary, which is just what **μέν** does.

[1] **δήπου**, testily, 'as you will perhaps grant it was.'

(3) to translate all particles at such length as is here done in the case of *δήπου* would destroy the balance of a sentence. It is often enough merely to emphasize a word, e. g. by raising the voice in speaking, or by underlining it in writing as '*was* opened' (*δήπου*).

l. 207. **πλήρη τὰ ἐπιτήδεια**, cp. on *ἀνδρεῖον*, l. 100, and iii. 207.

l. 208. **ἀ-φθόνως**, 'without envy,' 'ungrudgingly,' 'luxuriously.' The comparative is in *-έστερον* or in *-ώτερον*.

l. 209. **ψῦχος**, plur. *ψύχεα -η*, 'cold;' **ψυχή**, 'life,' acc. *ψυχήν*. Observe that in both *ψῦχος* and *θάλπος* the Greeks use the *plural*.

ἀγρυπνία, (*ἄγρ-υπνος* = *ἀ-υπνος*), 'sleeplessness.'

οἴεσθε . . . καρτερεῖν, '*think it your duty to* bear manfully.' **οἶομαι** often means 'to think right,' so *ᾤοντο ἀπ-ιέναι* = *ᾤοντο χρῆναι ἀπ-ιέναι*. It might also mean 'expect to bear manfully.'

l. 210. **καρτερέω**, (*καρτερός*, 'staunch,' *κράτος* or *κάρτος*, 'strength'), intrans. 'to be patient,' or trans. 'bear manfully,' 'endure.'

l. 212. **καὶ ἡ πόλις δέ τοι**. When *καί* and *δέ* come together, *δέ* couples the sentences, and *καί* belongs only to the word which it precedes. '[This is not only true as regards ourselves] but our *state* too, as I need hardly remind you . . .' *τοι* means 'as you know,' and is used especially in proverbial expressions.

l. 219. **μηδένα . . . κολακεύειν**, i. e. [*ἡμᾶς*] *κολακεύειν μηδένα*, the negative being put first to mark the nature of the sentence, *μή* is used not *οὐ* because an 'if' is implied.

l. 220. **ἑαυτοῖς**, i. e. *ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς*; but the statement is put generally.

ἱκανός εἰμι, c. inf. means 'to be sufficient,' 'able' or 'strong enough to.'

l. 221. **καὶ ταῦτα**, 'and that too.'

ὅθενπερ κάλλιστον, sc. *ἐστι πορίζεσθαι*.

ἡ ἀπὸ πολεμίων (sc. *πορισθεῖσα*) **ἀφθονία**, 'the plenty [which is obtained] from [pillaging] one's foes'

l. 224. **παρ-έχεται**, mid. 'supplies of itself,' or 'from its own means:' or as we say, 'can show for itself.'

l. 225. **ἀν-εβόησαν**, '*bade* him with shouts.' Cp. *οἶομαι* l. 209, and *εἰπεῖν* or *λέγειν* in sense of 'to *tell*,' i. e. 'to order.' Cp. *εἶπον κεκλεῖσθαι*, v. 155 n.

l. 226. **ὡς σφῶν ὑπηρετησόντων**,—*ὡς* c. part. expresses the motive, 'since they would.' *σφῶν* from *οὗ*, Lat. 'sui,' must not be confounded with *σφῷν* dual of *σύ*; *σφῶν* would have been *ἡμῶν* in direct oration.

l. 234. **ἐπὶ . . . κεκτημένους**, perfect passives of deponent verbs have an active meaning, 'against those who had.'

l. 235. **Γοργώπα ἀπ-ολωλότος**, 'since Gorgopas had been killed,' as recounted above, l. 186.

l. 238. **ἔξω**, 'outside,' i. e. 'abroad,' 'on foreign service.'

l. 241. **ἄλλος ἄλλῃ**, 'one in one place, one in another.'

l. 245. **στρογγύλον** [*πλοῖον*], 'a round vessel,' i. e. 'a merchantman,' as opposed to a 'trireme,' or 'navis longa' ('a man of war').

l. 246. **ἄ-πλοος** or **ἄ-πλους**, 'unfit for sailing,' e. g. by being scuttled: **ἁπλόος, ἁπλοῦς**, 'simple.'

l. 247. **φορτηγικός**, (*φέρω*), 'fit for carrying burdens,' of a trader or merchant vessel.

γέμω, 'to be full of [a cargo].'

l. 249. **Δεῖγμα**, (*δείκνυμι*, 'to show'), where they exposed wares for sale, 'the bazaar,' 'pier,' or 'docks,' of the Piraeus.

ναύ-κληρος, (*κλῆρος*, 'a lot or possession'), 'ship-owner.'

l. 258. **ἅτε**, adverbial accus. of *ὅστε*, 'according to which,' 'as,' 'as if.'

l. 259. **ἁλιευτικά**, sc. *πλοῖα*, 'fishing-boats,' from *ἁλι-εύω*, 'to be engaged on the sea,' 'to fish.'

πορθμεῖον. *πορθμός* (Lat. 'port-are,' Eng. 'ford,' 'frith,' Greek *περάω*, 'to cross'), 'a ferry,' so *πορθμεῖον*, 'a ferry-boat,' 'passage-boat.' For the change of Greek 'p' into English 'ph' or 'f,' compare *πόρος*, 'a thorough-fare,' *πατήρ*, 'father,' *πέντε*, Germ. 'fünf,' 'five,' *πρό*, 'for,' 'before,' *πήγ-νυμι*, 'fix,' *πῖλος*, 'felt,' *πλέος*, 'full.' So 't' is changed into 'th.'

l. 260. **κατα-πλέοντα**. See l. 291 n. **Σούνιον**, see Map of Attica at end.

l. 261. **ὁλκάς**, (*ἕλκω*, 'to draw'), 'a merchant-vessel.'

τὰς μέν τινας. See above *οἱ μέν τινες*, l. 93.

l. 263. **ἀπο-δίδωμι**, 'to give back,' mid. 'for one's own benefit,' 'to sell.'

l. 265. **πλήρεις** is marked as the *predicate* by being separated from *τὰς ναῦς*. Cp. iii. 207 n.

l. 266. **τρέφω**, 'nourish,' 'maintain,' then simply, like *ἔχειν*, 'to keep.'

l. 278. **πρωτό-πλους**, 'sailing first,' 'leading ships.'

l. 279. **ἐμ-βάλλω**, intr. 'to attack.'

προ-έχω, 'to *be* in front,' 'ahead.'

8. PEACE OF ANTALCIDAS, B.C. 387.

(Grote, lxxvi. Smith, p. 454; smaller ed. p. 159.)

l. 286. **ἔπραττε**,—*ποιέω* is 'to make,' 'produce,' Lat. 'facere;' but *πράττω* (connected with *περ-άω*, 'to pass over') means 'to be busy with,' 'to do,' so here 'to negotiate' or 'intrigue,' Lat. 'agere.'

l. 288. **ἐκ παλαιοῦ**, sc. *χρόνου*.

l. 291. **κατα-πλεῖν... κατ-ῆγεν**: *κατά* means 'down,' here 'down from the high seas to land,' or 'into port.'—Athens depended for its supplies on the great corn-producing country north of the Black Sea, just as Rome depended on Sicily and Egypt. Hence the importance of the Hellespont.

l. 293. **πολλάς**, is marked as a predicate by being separated from *τὰς πολεμίας ναῦς*, 'that the enemies' ships were many.' Cp. iii. 207 n.

l. 294. **ὡς πρότερον**, sc. *κατ-επολεμήθησαν*, 'as they were [crushed] before' by the battle of Aegospotami (p. 14), which led to the capture of Athens, B. C. 404.

l. 299. **οἵ γε μὴν Ἀργεῖοι**, '[whatever the Spartans wished], the *Argives* undoubtedly were eager for peace:' for the force of *γε μήν*, cp. l. 204 n.

φρουρὰν φαίνειν, 'to give notice that a *φρουρά* was wanted,' 'to proclaim a levy,' 'call out troops:' *φρουρά*, 'a garrison,' or 'body of men ready for service.'

l. 303. **ὑπ-ακοῦσαι τῇ εἰρήνῃ**, 'obey [the stipulations of] the peace,' i. e. to accept whatever terms the king offered.

l. 303. **κατα-πέμποι**, 'send down to the coast (*κατά*) [from Susa].

l. 305. **σημεῖον**, 'a mark,' here for *σφράγισμα*, 'a seal.'

l. 308. **ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι**, 'should be [the property] of himself.' Cp. iii. 41 n.

l. 309. **αὐτονόμους ἀφ-εῖναι**, 'to leave independent.' Distinguish **ἀπ-εῖναι**, 'to be absent;' **ἀπ-ιέναι**, 'to go away;' **ἀφ-εῖναι**, 2 aor. inf. of **ἀφ-ίημι**, 'to send away' or 'set free.'—This clause contained the gist of the treaty, for it meant no less than that Athens should give up all supremacy, and that the Boeotian league should be dissolved and Thebes resign her presidency. It was qualified by a clause which left three of the islands (Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros) still dependent on Athens.

l. 311. **ἐγὼ πολεμήσω**, observe the change from oblique oration to direct.

l. 317. **ἀξιόω**, 'to think worthy' (**ἄξιος**); generally, as here, 'to claim as one's right.'

ὑπὲρ πάντων. If the Thebans 'took the oath in the name of *all* the Boeotian cities' they would be recognised as presidents of the Boeotian league, and so the Spartans would not gain what they wished, viz. the splitting up of all the rest of Greece into single cities, severally too weak to oppose the supremacy of Sparta.

l. 318. **οὔ φημι** is like Lat. 'nego,' so with **δέξεσθαι**, it means 'I say I will *not* receive:' the Greek idiom negativing the verb of saying instead of the verb depending on it; this seems to be owing to a wish to have the negative as early as possible in the sentence, a principle also to be observed in Latin Prose.

ἐὰν μὴ ὀμνύωσιν = εἰ μὴ ὀμνύοιεν. Cp. note on **πλανῶνται**, l. 109.

l. 321. **ἐπι-στέλλω**, 'send to,' 'instruct,' 'enjoin.'

l. 323. **αὐτοῖς**, i. e. 'the home-authorities.'

l. 325. **διὰ τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους ἔχθραν**, 'owing to his hatred towards the Thebans,' for which see p. 86: observe that *διά* with acc. means 'on account of,' whereas *διά* with gen. 'by means of:' and also that the Greek article must continually be rendered by the English possessive 'his.'

l. 327. **πρὶν αὐτὸν ὁρμηθῆναι**, 'before his starting:' *πρίν* is properly the adverb of *πρό*, but is mostly used as a conjunction, like Lat. 'priusquam,' (1) most commonly with the infinitive, as above, like the English 'before starting,' but also (2) with the indicative, laying stress on the fact, **πρὶν ἦλθε**, 'before he came,' and (3) after negatives, with *ἄν* and subj., as *μὴ προκατα-γίγνωσκε πρὶν ἂν ἀκούσῃς*, 'don't condemn before you have heard.'

Τεγέα. Tegea was on the northern border of Laconia: cp. Maps at end.

l. 335. **πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν**, 'to bring war *out of* one's own country into another,' i. e. 'begin war,' Lat. 'inferre bellum.'

l. 337. **αὐτὴ ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς**, 'herself [resting] upon herself,' 'independent.'

l. 347. **οὑπερ**, 'just-the-very-thing (**περ**) which;' **περ** adds to a relative the meaning of 'precisely,' 'exactly.'

l. 349. **σφετερίζομαι**, 'to make one's own,' 'annex,' from **σφέτερος**, 'one's own.' The democratic party at Corinth in their dread lest the Spartans should put them under an oligarchy had formed so close a union with Argos that the boundary marks between the two states were removed. So the Arcadians identified themselves with the Thebans, vi. 239 n.

4. THE DESTRUCTION OF MANTINEA, B.C. 385.

(Grote, lxxvi.)

l. 355. **ἔφασαν** [**αὐτοὶ**] **αἰσθάνεσθαι**, Lat. 'dixerunt *se* animadvertere.' If the subject to the infinitive mood be not expressed, it is the same as that of the verb which governs the infinitive mood.

l. 356. **τοῖς Ἀργείοις**, in the recent war when Argos was allied with Corinth, Athens, and Thebes against Sparta.

σφῶν αὐτοῖς πολεμούντων, Lat. 'dum ipsi illos oppugnabant;' in direct oration it would be 'when we [Spartans] were at war with them [the Argives].' **σφῶν** from **οὗ** (or properly *Fοῦ* or (*σ*)*φοῦ*), Lat. 'sui,' must not be confounded with **σφῷν**, i. e. *σφῶϊν*, gen. dual of *σύ*.

l. 357. **οὐδὲ συ-στρατεύοιεν**, 'did not even serve with them,' i. e. refused to send any contingent at all. *οὐδέ*, Lat. 'ne ... quidem.' The fact that it was considered high treason for Mantinea to have declined to send a contingent at the bidding of Sparta, shows how little independence was left to the allies of Sparta during her supremacy. Cp. iii. 149, 265 nn.

ὁπότε δὲ καὶ ἀκολουθοῖεν, 'but whenever they *did* follow:' the force of *καί* ('even'), as well as of other particles, can often be best expressed by *emphasizing* the word to which it is attached.

l. 358. **γιγνώσκειν ... φθονοῦντας αὐτούς**,—*γιγνώσκω* is not 'to know' but 'to perceive;' it is followed like other verbs of feeling by the participle in Greek, where the Latins would have used the infinitive; remember that *φθονέω*, like Lat. 'invideo,' would have a dative for its object, and therefore *αὐτούς* must be the *subject* referring to the Argives.

l. 361. **αἱ σπονδαὶ ... ἐξ-ελήλυθέναι**. 'The truce running out,' could only be a reason for war on the theory that states were *naturally* at war, if there was nothing settled to the contrary. So the Greeks talk of a thirty years' *peace*, we of a thirty years' *war*.

l. 362. **τὴν ἐν Μαντινείᾳ μάχην**. There were two battles of Mantinea; the first, thirty-three years before this, B.C. 418, in the Peloponnesian War, in which the Spartans defeated the Argives, Mantineans, and Athenians; the second in B.C. 362, twenty-three years after this, when the Thebans under Epaminondas defeated Sparta. The peace referred to must of course be the peace made after the first battle of Mantinea, but that (1) was for fifty not for thirty years, and (2) if it had been for thirty years would have run out *before* this year. We may observe however that the statement is qualified by the words 'it was *said* that:' when the Spartans meant to go to war they would not be particular about the accuracy of the reasons alleged.

l. 364. **οὐκ ἐθέλω** is 'to refuse:' cp. *οὔ φημι*, l. 318.

φρουρὰν φαίνειν, see l. 299 n.

l. 365. **Ἀγησίπολις** was one of the two kings of Sparta: he was the son of Pausanias, who was deposed for his failure in an expedition against Boeotia, just before the battle of Coronea: his father was still alive in exile. His great-grandfather, the first Pausanias, who as regent had defeated the Persians at Plataea nearly 100 years before this, had also been deposed.

l. 367. **οὐδ' οὕτω**, 'not even thus,' i. e. 'not even then,' when their land was laid waste.

l. 368. **τοῖς ἡμίσεσι**, cp. Nehemiah iv. 16, when 'half wrought in the work, and the other half of them held the spears, shields, and the bows.' The more natural construction would have been *τῷ ἡμίσει τῶν στρατιωτῶν*, but in Attic *ἡμισύς* is attracted into the number and gender of the genitive which follows it. The dative expresses the instrument or useful accompaniment, and so is often used to express 'the troops who carry out a general's operations:' cp. *ἐτείχιζε τοῖς παροῦσιν*, 'he began to build *with* the troops who were with him,' Cyrop. 3. 2, 11.

l. 372. **πολύς**, a predicate, 'the stock of provisions which was in the city *was* considerable:' cp. iii. 207 n.

l. 373. **ἀπο-χώννυμι** (*χέω*), 'to heap up,' 'dam up.' In 1627, during the Thirty Years' War, Pappenheim, the Austrian general, took Wolfenbüttel in Brunswick in the same way, by damming up an affluent of the Weser, called the Ocker, which flowed through it.

l. 374. **εὐ-μεγέθης**, 'considerable.' The river was called the Ophis. Probably all the water-courses of the surrounding plain were then collected into one channel above the city. The regulation of this stream was a frequent subject of dispute between Mantinea and Tegea, the plain being so level that trenches had to be made to carry the water off to one of the katavothra or chasms in the mountains through which it made its escape. Agis in 418 B.C. let the waters over the plain of Mantinea (Thuc. 5. 65). The plain is now covered with pools of stagnant water.

ἀπόρ-ροια or **ἀπορροή** (*ῥέω*, 'to flow'), 'the exit or passage of the stream.'

l. 375. **ᾖρετο**. Distinguish *ἤρετο* from *ἔρομαι* 'to ask,' *ᾖρετο* impf. pass. from *αἴρω*, 'to raise,' *ᾐρεῖτο* from *αἱρέομαι*, 'to take for oneself.'

l. 377. **τὰς ἄνω**, sc. *πλίνθους* (fem.) (They were only sun-burnt bricks.)

l. 380. **ἡττάομαι**, 'to be defeated,' means lit. 'to be made weaker (*ἥσσων*) than,' and therefore is naturally followed by the *genitive* of comparison; (*τοῦ ὕδατος*), i. e. 'when the force of the water was too much for them.'

l. 383. **καὶ δι-οικιοῦντο**, [not only raze their walls but] '*also* break up their city into villages:' the demolition of their fortifications had been required (l. 354) and acceded to (l. 381), but much harder terms were required on their actual capitulation. The *καί* has the same force in *καὶ ταῦτα*, l. 384. *διά* implies 'into *different* villages,' Lat. 'dis:' cp. iii. 143 n.

l. 386. **ἔστασαν**,—*ἔστησαν* might either be 1 aor. or 2 aor. according as it is trans. or intrans.: *ἔστασαν*, pluperf. from *ἔσταα* or *ἕστηκα*, is clearly distinguished from this, both by the *α* and by the aspirate, which supplies the place of the reduplication. Since *ἕστηκα* means 'I have placed myself' or 'I am standing,' the pluperf. has the force of an imperf.

l. 388. **ῥᾷον**, 'more easily:' i.e. they had less difficulty in controlling themselves than the aristocratical party of the Mantineans had.

οἱ βέλτιστοι, 'the best,' i.e. the members of the 'oligarchical party.' A question-begging epithet, the relic of times when Greek governments were more generally oligarchical. So *καλοὶ κἀγαθοί*, 'the noble and good,' often stands for the rich, whom some now call the 'better' and others the 'idle' or 'lounging' classes.

l. 391. **τετραχῆ**, 'in four parts:' probably part of Mantinea was left as one of the villages, making five in all.

τὸ ἀρχαῖον, adverbial acc.

l. 395. **ἥδοντο τοῖς πεπραγμένοις**, 'began to feel pleased at the result.' Against this statement we have to set, first, the improbability of the fact, that the change of government could reconcile the Mantineans to this terrible blow of the destruction of their homes; secondly, the other statement of Xenophon (Hell. 6. 5, 3.) that one of the first results of the defeat of Sparta at Leuctra was, that 'the Mantineans, on the recovery of their independence, unanimously voted to restore Mantinea.' This statement must then either have come from some of the extreme oligarchs among the Mantineans, or else have been drawn from Xenophon's own imagination. (See note on the Spartan bias of Xenophon.)

l. 398. **ταύτῃ γε, κ.τ.λ.**, 'in this point at any rate' [if not in any other], viz. as to not letting a river go through their walls.

τῶν ἀνθρώπων, 'the citizens[1]:' when they rebuilt Mantinea fifteen years afterwards, they either changed the site or artificially diverted the course of the river, perhaps making it flow round the city. There are still remains of the rebuilt city, which is nearly in the lowest part of the plain, but was regularly fortified. The topography of the plain seems to have been frequently altered by the change of the watercourses.

l. 399. **τὸ μὴ ποιεῖσθαι** is the accusative expressing 'in regard to:' *μή* is used because it means 'so that they should not,' like *ὥστε μή*.

NOTE ON THE SPARTAN BIAS OF XENOPHON.

In criticizing an historian we must discover both what his *materials* were, and what he added to them; in other words, there are two tests of the truth of the statements of an historian, (1) whether he had the *means* of knowing the truth; (2) whether he had any *motive* for falsifying it. Xenophon passes the first test; he had the best means of knowing. He was an Athenian by birth, a friend of Sparta by choice, he was living in the Peloponnese at the time, and had some years to collect information, living on as he did till after the battle of Mantinea (B.C. 362). The question then is, does he pass the second test? Has he any bias as an historian? We must remember that he was oligarchical by birth and position, that he was indignant, and justly so, with the Athenian democracy for the condemnation of his master Socrates, that he was closely connected with the Spartans in the expedition of the 10,000, that he followed Agesilaus to Coronea, and fought there against Thebes while his countrymen were fighting for her (iv. 88 n.), and that he was banished by the Athenians and lived under Spartan protection in Elis. He dwells continually and at great length upon points which were very unfavourable to Athens, such as the condemnation of the generals after Arginusae (i. 135–184); he attacks the democratical constitution of Athens; he dislikes the Theban democracy, and does not even mention the name of Epaminondas at Leuctra, ascribing the defeat of Sparta there rather to ill-luck than to inferior generalship

[1] *ἀνθρώπων* without the article would be 'mankind' generally.

(vi. 79); he praises the policy of Sparta, and writes an elaborate panegyric on Agesilaus, and he here explains away one of the most inexcusable acts of Spartan oppression. On the other hand, it is to be said that he gives a very favourable picture of Thrasybulus, the restorer of the Athenian democracy (ii. 330 and Hell. 4. 8, 31), that he emphatically condemns Sparta for the seizure of Thebes (v. 107) and more or less for the unjust acquittal of Sphodrias (v. 209), that he eulogizes Epaminondas for the enthusiasm he inspired in his troops (vi. 233), and that two of his sons fought for Athens, one of them dying in her cause in the cavalry skirmish which preceded the battle of Mantinea. In the majority of passages, however, he certainly does show a strong bias in favour of the oligarchical parties generally, and the Spartan government in particular.

SECTION V.

THE TRANSITION.

B.C. 382—375.

1. THE SEIZURE OF THEBES, B.C. 382.

(Grote, lxvii. Smith, p. 458; smaller ed. p. 160.)

l. 4. **ὧν ἕνεκα ἦκον** '[the reasons] on account of which they had come:' **ἕνεκα**, like Lat. 'causâ,' is always put *after* its case: **ἥκω**, though present in form is perfect in meaning, like **οἴχομαι**.

ἡ ἐκκλησία, 'the assembly [of Spartans]'=**οἱ ἔκκλητοι**, a committee on foreign affairs composed of Spartan citizens chosen to report on certain questions: by **ἥ τε ἐκκλησία** (or **οἵ τε ἔκκλητοι**) **καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι** is meant a general assembly of the representatives of Sparta with those of her allies.

l. 5. **οἱ πολλοί**, '*the* many,' i. e. 'the majority.'

l. 6. **ἔδοξεν**, 'it seemed good,' i. e. 'they *finally* resolved.' Observe the difference in tense between *συν-ηγόρευον* and **ἔδοξεν**.

l. 7. **ἐν ᾧ**, i. e. **ἐν** [*τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐν*] **ᾧ**, 'while.'

ἠθροίζετο, observe the tense, 'while the troops *were being assembled*,' i. e. '*before* the various contingents from the different subject states had come up.' The use of the aorist is simple enough, but care must be taken to *translate every Greek imperfect as a real imperfect in English:* we are too apt to use our aorist 'I did' alike for aorist and for imperfect: this will not do in translating Greek, as the Greeks never put the imperfect without meaning to depict something as *going on* before our eyes. There is an idea of *continuance* in it quite foreign to the aorist, which would rather describe an act as done with, so that one could pass on to something else.

l. 8. **ἐκ-πέμπουσιν**, the historical present, used to describe the past dramatically, as if it was going on before our eyes.

ὡς τάχιστα [*δύνανται ἐκπέμπειν*], '[so quickly] as [they can] most quickly,' 'as soon as they possibly could:' Lat. 'quam' or 'quum celerrime.'

l. 9. **ἐξέλθοι ἄν**,—**ἄν** with the optative forms a potential mood, 'could proceed:' the optative without **ἄν** may either be a past subjunctive depending on a conjunctive, or a pure optative expressing a wish.

l. 10. **ἐξ-ιών**, Lat. 'ex-iturus,' '*before* his departure from home:' **εἶμι**, 'ibo,' retaining its future sense in the participle.

l. 10. **ἐδεήθη**,—both the aorist and perfect passive of deponent verbs retain the meaning of the middle, notwithstanding their passive form.

l. 11. **τὸν ἀδελφόν**, Lat. '*suum* fratrem:' the article in Greek must often be rendered in English by the possessive pronoun 'his:' so in French with reflexive verbs, 'je me suis blessé *la* main,' 'I have hurt my hand.'

l. 12. **εἰς τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης χωρία**, 'to the forts [lying] upon [the line of] Thrace,' 'to the towns [of Macedonia, etc. which lay] Thraceward.'

l. 14. **ὑπο-λειφθέντες**, 'those who *had* been left behind by Eudamidas:' when he was starting they were called **ὑπολειπόμενοι** (l. 10), because they were then *in the act of being* left behind.

l. 15. **ἐγένοντο ἐν Θήβαις**. The *direct* line from the Peloponnese to Olynthus lay through the Theban territory. See Map at end.

ἐν Θήβαις, 'in the district of Thebes,' i. e. in the environs.

l. 16. **περὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον**,—**περί**, 'around,' when joined with acc. (implying motion 'to'), implies 'flocking round,' then less exactly 'in the sphere of,' or 'about' a place where motion is only implied, as here, 'they came and encamped *near*.'

l. 18. **ἐτύγχανον πολεμαρχοῦντες**, 'were polemarchs *at the time*:' **τυγχάνω** implies rather a *coincidence* than an accident: for the Greek idiom, cp. i. 81.

At Thebes the office of polemarchs, or 'leaders in war,' was like that of the Roman consuls. Ismenias was head of the democratical, patriotic, or Anti-Spartan party, Leontiades of the oligarchical party, now in a minority, but hoping to defeat their opponents by the aid of Sparta.

l. 19. **τῶν ἑταιρειῶν**, 'of their [respective] clubs.' When party-feeling ran high in Grecian cities, the citizens formed secret political clubs: hence a city, though outwardly one, was often really divided into two hostile camps, and when party-feeling was stronger than patriotism, the minority, who were defeated in the elections, were not unwilling to call in the aid of the common enemy of the state. Cp. ii. 10–20, 296–299, and iii. 157–171.

l. 20. **διὰ τὸ μῖσος τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων**, 'on account of his hatred of the Lacedaemonians:' observe that the genitive here does not refer to the subject or person who feels the hatred, but to the *object* for whom the hatred is felt; the distinction can always be seen by turning the governing substantive into a verb, as here, 'because he hated the Lacedaemonians' (object), whereas **τὸ μῖσος αὐτοῦ** might express 'the hate *he* felt for them,' where 'he' would be the subject.

οὐδέ, 'not even:' Lat. 'ne adibat quidem:' **οὐδέ** here loses its conjunctive force and is simply adverbial.

l. 21. **ἄλλως τε . . καί**, lit. 'both in other ways [which I will not mention] and [the important point]:' hence = 'especially,' 'above all,' or, as here, '*not only* went on paying him various attentions, *but also* . . .'

l. 22. **εἰς-φκειώθη**,—the termination **-όω** means 'to *make*' so and so, as **χρυσ-όω**, 'to *make* golden;' so from **οἰκεῖος**, 'at home with,' we get **οἰκει-όω**, 'to *make* at home with;' and in pass. 'to become intimate,' 'be closeted with.'

l. 23. **ὑπουργέω**, (**ὑπό**, **ἔργον**), 'lit. 'to be an under-worker;' then 'to serve,' 'assist,' and with cognate acc. **ἀγαθά**, expressing the assistance given, 'render services,' 'confer a boon.'

l. 25. **ἐμοί**, '*me*,' the emphatic form; if there was no emphasis to be laid on the word, *μοι* would be used. So the insertion of *ἐγώ* makes '*I*' emphatic.

l. 26. **τούτου γενομένου**, i.e. *ἐὰν τοῦτο γένηται*; the participle often contains a *conditional* sentence.

αἱ Θῆβαι, plural proper names of places may arise in two ways, if masc., the name of the tribe may have given the name to the town, as the Treveri to Treves: if fem., the plural form probably denoted a group of villages eventually combined into one town, as in the case of *αἱ Ἀθῆναι*, Athens.

ὑπὸ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις,—*ὑπό* harmonizes (1) with genitive *of close connection*, 'under,' of place, and also the *agent* 'under whose hand,' or, as we say, '*by*' whom a thing is done; (2) as here, with dative, '*under* the thumb of,' 'subject to;' (3) with accusative of *motion* 'under.'

l. 28. **ἀπο-κηρύσσω**,—*ἀπό*, 'away from,' often has a negative sense in composition, as *ἀγορεύω*, 'to speak,' *ἀπ-αγορεύω*, 'to forbid,' so here *κηρύσσω*, 'to proclaim,' *ἀπο-κηρύσσω*, 'to *forbid* by public proclamation.'

μηδένα, implying a prohibition or oblique petition 'that no one *should*:' *οὐδένα* would be 'that no one *does*.'

l. 29. **ἐὰν δέ γε**,—*γε* strengthens *ἐάν*, 'but if you will *really* carry out this policy:' cp. Lat. 'si-quidem.'

l. 31. **ὥστε βοηθήσεις**, the indicative emphasizing the fact: cp. iii. 49.

l. 32. **ἐν ᾧ**, cp. l. 7 n.

l. 33. **κατ-εστραμμένος ἔσει**,—this is *formed* like the English future passive, 'will-be subdued,' but as *in deponent verbs the perfect passive is generally used as a perfect middle*, it has a middle and not a passive sense, 'you will have subdued to yourself,' *καταστρέφεσθαι*, 'to turn-down-under-oneself,' 'to subdue,' being practically deponent.

l. 35. **ἧσθη**, distinguish from *ᾔσθετο*.

l. 37. **γε**, 'at any rate,' 'he certainly was not prudent *whatever else he was*.'

l. 38. **προ-ορμάω** is 'to start in front,' or 'proceed on one's march.' Distinguish *ὁρμ-άω*, 'to start,' from *ὁρμ-έω*, 'to lie at anchor;' the 1 aor. of both would be the same, but *ὁρμέω* is rarely used except in the present and imperfect. Cp. i. 13 n.

ὥσπερ συν-εσκευασμένος ἦν, *κ. τ. λ.*, 'just as he had packed up, or made all arrangements for marching away.' *συν-σκευάζεσθαι* is 'to pack up one's baggage (*τὰ σκεύη*),' Lat. 'vasa colligere;' for the middle sense, cp. l. 33.

l. 39. **ἡνίκα**, 'at the moment when,' marks a *point* of time, more exactly than *ὅτε*, 'during the time when;' *ἄν*, 'in any case,' adds the force of 'ever,' 'at whatever moment;' conjunctions when combined with *ἄν* are always followed by the subjunctive.

l. 43. **ἀπο-στρέφει**, 'turns him from his course,' 'makes him face about and return.'

l. 46. **θεσμοφοριάζω**, (*θεσμός*, 'a law,' *φέρω*), 'to keep the Thesmophoria, the feast of Demeter the lawgiver.' Demeter being the goddess of tillage, like the Latin Ceres, was considered as having put an end to nomadic or pastoral habits, and to the lawless customs of quasi-gipsy life: hence she was worshipped as the goddess of marriage: cp. Virg. Aen. 4. 58, where Dido sacrifices to 'Ceres legifera' on this very ground. Women only might attend this festival.

l. 47. **Καδμεία**, 'the citadel' of Thebes, so called from Cadmus, the mythical founder.

κατα-στήσας,—remember that the present, imperfect, future, and 1st aorist of *ἵστημι* are transitive; while the 2nd aorist, perfect, and pluperfect form the intransitive group.

l. 48. **βαλανάγρα**. The Greek doors were fastened by a bar pushed right across on the inner side; this bar was shot home into a hole in the door-post, and was secured there by a peg (*βάλανος*) passing through a hole in the door-post into a corresponding hole in the bar, so that it could only be pulled out by a particular hook or key, which was called *βαλανάγρα* from catching (*ἄγρα*) the *βάλανος*: some of these hooks or keys had only one tooth, others more.

l. 49. **παρ-ιέναι**, here transitive: and therefore from *παρ-ίημι*, 'to send by' or 'let pass:' if intransitive it would be from *πάρ-ειμι*, 'to go by.'

ὅντινα μή, Lat. 'nisi si quem.'

l. 53. **οὐδενί**, not *μηδενί*, after *φασίν*, because *οὐ* harmonizes with *statements of fact*, whether direct or oblique: 'they state the *fact* that they have *not* come as enemies to any one.' **ὅστις μή**, *μή* after *ὅστις*, because *ὅς-τις* is the same as *εἴ-τις*, and is conditional. Above, l. 51, *μηδέν* goes with *ἀθυμεῖτε* because it is a petition.

l. 54. **λαβεῖν, εἴτις**, = *λαβεῖν τινα, εἰ ἐκεῖνος δοκεῖ*, 'to arrest any one if he..,' = 'to arrest any one who...'

l. 55. **τουτονί**, the same as *τοῦτον*, the *ί* is emphatic, and implies that he *points at* Ismenias as he says it. The termination is much used in the comic writers, and was no doubt a common way of talking at Athens. Cp. ii. 134 n.

l. 56. **καὶ ὑμεῖς δέ**,—where *δέ* and *καί* both occur, *δέ* couples the sentences, while *καί* merely emphasizes the word to which it is prefixed.

l. 57. **ἀπ-άγετε ἔνθα εἴρηται**, 'lead him away [to that place] where you have been told [to take him],' i. e. to Spartan custody in the Cadmea.

l. 59. **τῶν μὴ εἰδότων**, the partitive genitive, the regular construction after *οἱ μέν*—*οἱ δέ*, 'some..others:' *μή* not *οὐ* is generally used with the article, because 'those who do not' is equivalent to 'if any do not,' and *μή* is always used where an 'if' is implied: so here *οἱ μὴ εἰδότες* = *εἴ τινες μὴ ᾔδεσαν*. There are two main uses of *μή*, (1) prohibitive, with a direct or oblique petition, implying either 'don't,' or 'I beg you won't,' as in *μηδὲν ἀθυμεῖτε*, l. 51, and *παριέναι μηδένα*, l. 49 above: (2) conditional, implying 'if,' as here, and in *ὅστις μὴ ἐρᾷ*, l. 53.

l. 60. **τοῖς περὶ Λεοντιάδην**, 'Leontiades *and* his party,' the Greek idiom *including* the person mentioned, cp. *οἱ περὶ Θρασύβουλον*, ii. 191 n.

l. 61. **δείσαντες μὴ ἀπο-θάνοιεν**. Lat. 'veriti *ne* interficerentur,' 'fearing that they would be put to death.' In Latin 'vereor ne' is thus used because 'I fear that I shall be put to death' implies an endeavour 'that I may *not*,' whereas 'I fear I shall *not* get off' implies an anxiety 'that I *may* get off,' for which reason 'ut' is used for our 'that not.' In Greek *μή* seems to be used after verbs of fearing, simply because the Greeks were more sensitive about the presence of a negative than we are: if we wish to negative a major and minor sentence as a whole, we put a negative in the major sentence only, as 'I don't wish to be killed,' whereas the Greeks would have negatived both major and minor sentence alike: cp. *μὴ οὐκ*, iii. 230 n.

Mr. Farrar aptly quotes, 'Who can *forbid* water that these should *not* be baptized?' Acts x. 47, where we should now say 'for baptizing them,' and, 'If any know just *impediment* why these two should *not* be joined together,' i.e. 'anything to prevent their being joined.'

l. 62. **ᾤσθοντο εἰργμένον**, after verbs of feeling, perceiving, etc., the Greeks use the participle where the Latins use the acc. and infin. In English we use '*that*,' as here, 'that he was imprisoned:' cp. **ᾔδεσαν ζῶντας**, ii. 8.

l. 63. **ταὐτά**, the breathing marks the beginning of a word, so this is **τὰ αὐτά** from **ὁ αὐτός** ('idem'), and must not be confounded with **ταῦτα** from **οὗτος** ('hic'). **Ἰσμηνίᾳ**, dative after **ὁ αὐτός**, 'the same with' or 'as.'

γιγνώσκω is not = **οἶδα**, 'to know,' but 'to perceive' or 'hold an opinion.'

l. 64. **μάλιστα**, 'especially,' then 'more than any other number,' or 'about:' so Lat. 'maxime.'

l. 67. **ἀντὶ Ἰσμηνίου**,—the Greek **ἀντί** means 'instead of,' whereas the Latin 'ante' means 'before:' the original meaning of the word was 'opposite,' 'facing,' and the Latin meaning, 'before,' comes from the idea of 'being in front of:' the same root reappears in the English *an*-swer, 'to speak against,' or 'in turn,' as in Germ. '*ant*-worten.'

l. 68. **χαλεπῶς ἔχοντας τῷ Φοιβίδᾳ**,—**ἔχοντας**, 'having' or 'finding oneself,' is here intransitive: so with adv., 'angrily *disposed* towards,' with a dative of the recipient: cp. i. 44 n.

l. 71. **πεπραχὼς εἴη**, this compound form is generally used instead of the simple **πεπράχοι**.

δίκαιος εἴη,—as the Latins do not say 'dicitur Ciceronem erravisse,' but 'Cicero dicitur erravisse,' so the Greeks do not say 'it is just that he,' but '*be is just* to be,' i. e. 'he deserves.'

l. 73. **αὐτο-σχεδιάζειν**, (**αὐτός**, 'of oneself,' **σχέδον**, 'near'), 'to extemporize' or 'use one's discretion about... on the spur of the moment,' 'to act according to one's discretion.' So **σχεδία** means 'a raft' or 'extemporised vessel.'

l. 75. **οἱ ἔκ-κλητοι**, lit. 'those who were summoned,' 'the council,' i. e. a select committee of Spartan citizens: this committee seems also to have represented Spartan interests in the large assembly, at which the representatives of the allies were present: cp. l. 5, where the Ephors brought the embassy from Acanthus 'before the assembly *and* the allies.'

l. 77. **πολεμικῶς ὑμῖν εἶχον**, an exactly similar expression to **χαλεπῶς ἔχοντας τῷ Φοιβίδᾳ**, l. 68 n.

πρὶν τὰ νῦν πεπραγμένα γενέσθαι, in English we can say either 'before the present revolution was accomplished,' or 'before the accomplishment of the revolution:' the Greek idiom is an intermediate step between these two: the Greek infinitive depends on 'before,' just as a noun depends on a preposition; but it has a subject ('the revolution'), as if it was a finite verb. **πρίν** as a conjunction may be used in three ways, (1) as above, with infinitive, **πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι**, 'before hearing,' (2) with ind., **πρὶν ἤκουσε**, 'before he heard it,' drawing attention to the fact that he *did* hear, (3) after negatives, **πρὶν ἄν** with subjunctive, **μὴ προκαταγίγνωσκε πρὶν ἂν ἀκούσῃς**, 'don't condemn before you hear.' Cp. iv. 327 **πρὶν αὐτὸν ὁρμηθῆναι**.

l. 80. **οὐκ ἐθέλω** is 'to refuse,' as **οὐ φημι** is 'to deny.'

l. 81. **ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν Πειραιεῖ δῆμον**, i.e. Thrasybulus and the exiles, who established themselves in the Piraeus, and overthrew the oligarchy of the Thirty Tyrants, which had been set up by Sparta in Athens: cp. ii. 223, iv. 31, and the end of Hist. Intr. to Section ii.

l. 82. **Φωκεῦσι**, just before the battle of Coronea, cp. iv. 17.

l. 83. **ἀλλὰ μὴν καί**,—**ἀλλά** means 'nay,' or 'but;' *μήν*, 'certainly,' 'yet;' *καί*, 'also,' emphasizes *συμμαχίαν*: 'nay, but they were even making,' 'why, they were actually ...:' Lat. 'verum enimvero.'

l. 84. **ἐκ-φέροντας**, for the participle after **εἰδότες** compare **ᾔσθοντο εἰργμένον**, l. 62. **ἐκ-φέρειν πόλεμον** is 'to carry war *out of* one's own country [into one's neighbours'],' 'to invade,' Lat. 'inferre bellum.'

l. 85. **προς-έχω τὸν νοῦν**, to 'turn one's mind to,' so here 'were waiting anxiously.'

l. 86. **ὑφ' αὑτοῖς**, for *ὑπό* with the dative, cp. l. 26 n. Observe the aspirate in *αὑτοῖς* which marks that it is put for *ἑαυτοῖς*, otherwise it would be *ὑπ' αὐτοῖς*.

l. 88. **σκυτάλη**, lit. 'a staff,' then 'a letter' or 'despatch in cipher.' These secret despatches were thus managed. There were several sticks made of exactly the same shape: the government had one, the generals in command on foreign service had others. The parchment being rolled round the stick, the despatch was then written lengthwise upon it; then it was unrolled and sent; but no one could decipher it without first rolling it round a stick of exactly the same size, and making the ends of the several lines fit.

The 'short despatch' required was merely that Leontiades should arrest all the partizans of Ismenias, and so complete his *coup d'état*.

πάντα ὑπηρετεῖσθαι,—*ὑπηρετέω* is 'to serve,' first as a rower (*ἐρέτης* or *ὑπηρέτης*), then by extension simply 'to serve,' with accusative of the service done, and a dative of the person served, so l. 94 *ὑπηρέτουν πλείω τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις*, 'they were doing more service to the Spartans.' When, as here, the verb is in the passive, the service done is the nominative, as in the case of *πάντα* here, 'that all service should be done to you.'

l. 89. **δέησθε**, there are two verbs, (1) *δέω*, 'to bind,' whence *δεῖ*, as in *δεῖ με δρᾶν τοῦτο*, 'it is *binding* on me to do this,' 'I must,' (2) 'to want,' as in *πολλοῦ δέω*, 'I want much of,' 'I am far from,' so *πολλοῦ δεῖ*: this latter is mostly used in the middle, as a deponent, *δέομαί τινος*, 'I am in want of something,' as here, and frequently also for 'to beg' or 'request.'

l. 93. **κατεψηφίσθη καὶ ἀποθνήσκει**,—observe the tenses, the aorist marks that the trial was over and the sentence was given, but the historical present dramatically depicts his execution as going on before our eyes: *ἀποθνήσκω*, 'to die,' 'to be put to death,' acts as the passive of *ἀποκτείνω*.

l. 97. **πολὺ δὴ προθυμότερον**, the addition of *δή* makes *πολύ* emphatic, '*very* much,' or 'undoubtedly much:' it is often used thus with superlatives, *μέγιστος δή*, '*quite* the biggest:' cp. iv. 135.

2. THE RETRIBUTION, B.C. 379.

l. 99. **οὕτω μὲν δή**, the particles *μέν δή* are often thus used together to continue a narrative or to sum up: 'so then,' 'so:' cp. vi. 280 n.

l. 103. **δυσμενῶς εἶχον αὐτοῖς**, cp. *χαλεπῶς ἔχοντας*, l. 68 n.

l. 104. **οἵ τε ἄλλοι καί**, lit. 'both the others [who are unimportant] and above all:' so **ἄλλως τε καί**, 'especially.'

οἱ Φλιάσιοι, 'the people of Phlius,' a city near Sicyon and the Isthmus of Corinth (see map); there had been a democratic revolution there, and the oligarchs were banished; these exiles were afterwards restored to Sparta, and when they complained they could not get all their rights, Agesilaus besieged the city and took it, and then set up an oligarchical government there.

l. 105. **καὶ δὴ καί**, 'and so even,' here summing up, 'and in fine:' the first *καί* links the sentences, the second emphasizes the word *παντάπασιν*.

l. 110. **αὐτῶν τῶν ἀδικηθέντων**,—*αὐτός* means 'self' in the nominative always, and also in the oblique cases, (1) when it is emphasized by being placed first in the sentence, or (2) when, as here, it is *joined with a noun*, and therefore cannot be a simple *pronoun*. Cp. iii. 108.

οὐδ' ὑφ' ἑνός = ὑπ' οὐδενός, *οὐδείς* being often divided by the insertion of prepositions (or by the particle *ἄν*).

l. 111. **τῶν πώποτε ἀνθρώπων**,—adverbs are often joined with the article, thus receiving an *adjectival* force; *οἱ νῦν* [*ἄνθρωποι*], *οἱ τότε*, etc., so here, 'by no human beings up to that date.'

κρατηθέντες; not simply 'defeated,' which they had been, but 'overcome,' 'overpowered.'

l. 112. **φεύγω** often means not merely 'to flee,' but 'to be exiled.'

l. 115. **ὥστε αὐτοὶ τυραννεῖν**, Lat. 'eâ conditione ut ipsi regnarent:' observe that the Greeks do not shrink from putting the nominative with the infinitive when the subject is the same as that of the main verb.

l. 117. **γραμματεύω**, 'to act as secretary' (*γραμματεύς*): so *βασιλεύω*, to *act as king, to be king, to reign*.

l. 118. **Ἀθηνάζε**, i.e. **Ἀθηνάδε**, 'to Athens.'

l. 119. **κατὰ πρᾶξίν τινα**, '*on* a certain business:' *κατά* meaning 'down,' with acc. of motion 'to,' often means on, for, or after a purpose, as in the Homeric phrase, Od. 3. 72:—

ἦ τι κατὰ πρῆξιν ἢ μαψιδίως ἀλάλησθε;

'Do you rove on business or without reason?'

l. 120. **τούτῳ** refers to Phyllidas, and depends on both *συγγίγνεται* and on *γνώριμος*.

l. 122. **γνούς**, 'having ascertained:' for the participle *μισοῦντα*, cp. l. 62 n.

τὰ οἴκοι, sc. *πράγματα*, 'the [state of things] at home,' cp. l. 111 n.

l. 126. **νυκτός**, gen. of point of time, 'by night.'

l. 128. **ὡς δή**, 'as if then,' 'under the pretence of,' cp. *τὰς γυναῖκας δή*, l. 145.

l. 130. **παρά** with dative, 'in house of:' Lat. 'apud,' Fr. *chez*.

καὶ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν δ' ἡμέραν,—when *καί* and *δέ* occur together, *δέ* connects the sentences, while *καί* belongs to the word which follows it; 'they passed not only (*μέν*) that night, *but* (*δέ*) the next day *also* (*καί*).'

l. 133. **καὶ δὴ καί**, cp. l. 105 n., the *καί* here emphasizes the *γυναῖκας*, which is put here instead of with *τὰς σεμνοτάτας*, the adjective agreeing with it, because it is to be emphasized by this *καί*; the point of the story being about women.

πάλαι ὑπισχνούμενος,—*πάλαι*, 'long ago,' like Lat. 'dudum,' is often thus used with a present, where the English idiom requires a perfect, so *πάλαι ὁρῶ*, Lat. 'jamdudum video,' 'I *have* long seen.'

l. 135. **τοιοῦτοι**, of such a character, i. e. fond of wine and women.

l. 138. **τοὺς περὶ Μέλωνα**, cp. l. 60 n.

l. 141. **οὔ φασιν εἰς-ελθεῖν ἄν**, 'say they will *not* come in:' cp. iv. 318 n.

l. 144. **εἰς ἑνός**, sc. *τὴν οἰκίαν*, just as we say, 'to Fortnum and Mason's,' etc.: so **εἰς Ἀΐδου**, 'to [the house of] Hades,' cp. Lat. 'ad Dianae.'

l. 145. **τὰς γυναῖκας δή**,—*δή*, 'assuredly,' used ironically, marks the *pretence*, 'the women forsooth:' Fr. *les soi-disantes femmes:* cp. Lat. 'scilicet,' and *ὡς δὴ ἀπιόντες*, l. 128 n.

l. 146. **ἐπεὶ καθίζοιντο**, the optative is the mood of oblique oration: here it marks that the minor sentence is a part of the oblique oration: 'it was an agreement, that *when they sat down*, they should strike.'

l. 151. **ἐτύγχανε κατακείμενος**, cp. *ἐτύγχανον πολεμαρχοῦντες*, l. 18 n.

l. 155. **εἶπον τὴν θύραν κεκλεῖσθαι**, this might be construed, 'said that the door had been shut,' 'that they had shut the door,' but **εἶπον** obviously means here 'told' in the sense of *ordered*: cp. iv. 225 n. **ἐξιόντες** is imperfect: '*as* they went out they ordered that the door should be kept shut.' *κλείεσθαι* would mean 'it should be in the act of being shut,' *κλεισθῆναι*, 'it should be shut' (simply), but *κεκλεῖσθαι* means 'it should be shut and *kept* [in the state of having been] shut.'

l. 156. **εἰ λήψοιντο**, the optative marks that the speech is reported; their actual words would have been *εἰ λήψομεθα*: cp. *ἐπεὶ καθίζοιντο*, l. 146 n.

l. 158. **δύο τῶν ἀνδρῶν**. Phyllidas took *three* of the conspirators to attack Leontiades, but only *two* to attack the gaoler. We learn from the fuller account in Plutarch that the third had been killed in the encounter with Leontiades. 'Leontiades, on being attacked, started up and mortally wounded one of the conspirators: a desperate struggle then ensued between him and Pelopidas in the narrow doorway, where there was no room for a third to approach: at length, however, Pelopidas overthrew and killed him.' Cp. Grote, lxxvii.

l. 159. **εἱργμο-φύλαξ**, 'the gaoler.' The word is derived from *εἴργω*, which means *to bar a person's way*, either by *shutting in* or *shutting out*.

l. 163. **τὰ ἐκ τῆς στοᾶς ὅπλα**; these were arms taken in war and hung up as trophies in public places, as in the colonnade round the market-place or the temples. So in the porch of the portico of Solomon's palace were hung 1000 shields, 500 of which were trophies of David's Syrian wars, and 500 were for Solomon's guard. King David's shields and spears were treasured up in the porch of the first temple, and arms were hung round the walls of the second temple. In Athens the round marks where they were hung can still be traced on the walls of the Pantheon, and in Rome the temple of Bellona was studded with such shields. Cp. Stanley's Jewish Church, Lect. xxvi. Observe the pregnant use of the preposition **ἐκ**, which acts for itself and for **ἐν** too: the sentence would run in full thus, *καθελόντες τὰ [ἐν τῇ στοᾷ] ὅπλα ἐκ τῆς στοᾶς*. Cp. iii. 78.

l. 164. **Ἀμφεῖον** or **Ἀμφιεῖον**, the shrine or tomb of Amphion, who had made the walls of Thebes rise to the sound of his marvellous music.

θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, 'to ground arms,' like our 'order arms,' often simply 'to halt:' the shields being heavy the Greek soldiers always rested spear and shield on the ground when they were not marching.

l. 166. **ὡς** with part., 'on the ground that,' expressing the *motive*.

l. 167. ἔγνωσαν ὀλίγοι ὄντες, 'perceived that they were few,' l. 62 n.

l. 168. τὰ κηρύγματα μεγάλα . . . ἀναβᾶσιν, 'that the rewards proclaimed for the first who got up were large.' Observe that *μεγάλα* is a *predicate*.

l. 169. ἀναβᾶσιν, sc. *εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν*.

l. 171. ἀπιοῦσι, Lat. 'ea lege ut abirent,' 'if they went.'

l. 173. ἐπὶ τούτοις,—*ἐπί* meaning 'upon,' and the dative implying 'rest at,' *ἐπί* with dative means 'resting on a certain basis,' hence '*on terms of*.'

l. 175. ὅσοις ἦσαν, sc. *παῖδες*, 'all who had children.'

3. THE ATTEMPT ON THE PIRAEUS, B.C. 378.

l. 177. φοβούμενοι εἰ, lit. 'fearing *if*,' i.e. '*that* they would have to fight single-handed:' similarly after words of wondering the Greek idiom uses *if* where we use *that*.

ἄλλοι ἤ, the Greeks say 'others *than*,' where we say 'others *besides*' themselves: *than* is used because difference implies comparison.

l. 179. ἁρμοστής, (*ἁρμόζω*, 'to arrange'), a Spartan 'governor.'

l. 181. ἵν' ἐκπολεμήσειε,—the optative in Greek has three main uses, (1) pure optative, expressing a wish, (2) potential with *ἄν*, (3) dependent, and this in four ways, (*α*) *conditional*, 'if I were to,' with *εἰ*; (*β*) *final* after *ἵνα*, *ὅπως*, etc. of past time, as here[1]; (*γ*) in indirect questions after past time: these usages being like the Latin impf. subjunctive; (*δ*) in oratio obliqua, after *ὅτι*, etc.: cp. 146 n.

l. 182. προσ-ποιέομαι, lit. 'to add to oneself,' esp. 'to take to oneself,' 'profess,' hence with fut. inf., 'make as if one would.'

l. 183. ὅτι δή, 'because it *really* was.' The walls had not been repaired since Lysander took them, i. 312.

l. 186. ἔφθη ἐπι-γενομένη, lit. '*anticipated* him having come upon him:' but *φθάνω* is one of the verbs which in English must be translated adverbially, 'came upon him *too soon*,' or '*before he got there*;' so *τυγχάνω*, 'at the time,' l. 18.

l. 191. προσ-ἴοι, cp. under 3. *δ*. in note on l. 181.

l. 193. τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ πρέσβεις, cp. on *καὶ ὑμεῖς δέ*, l. 56 n.

l. 194. παρὰ τῷ προξένῳ, the *πρόξενοι*, lit. 'a public guest-friend,' i. e. a guest-friend of a foreign state, as a *ξένος* was of an individual foreigner: hence the *πρόξενοι* answered to our 'consuls;' they were themselves natives of the state where they resided, and assisted the ambassadors and other citizens of the states whom they represented.

l. 196. ἐκπλήσσω, 'to *strike out of* one's senses' by a sudden shock, 'astonish,' hence pass. with dative, 'to be amazed' or 'utterly disconcerted *at*:' cp. Lat. 'attonitus' and 'perculsus.'

l. 197. ᾔδεσαν καταλαμβανόμενον τὸν Πειραιᾶ, observe the tense, 'if they had known that the Piraeus was *being* seized,' 'that *an attempt* was being made to seize Piraeus.'

l. 198. ἂν ἦσαν,—*ἄν* with the *optative* is a simple conditional; so *ἂν εἶεν* means 'they would be:' the past conditional, 'would *have*,' is supplied by the past tenses of the *indicative* with *ἄν*, so here *ἂν ἦσαν* means, literally, 'were

[1] *πείθουσι*, being an *historical* present, has the idea of *past* time.

in that case,' i. e. 'would have been,' l. 253 **ἂν ἀπέλυσας**, 'you would have acquitted him.' *ἄν* means 'in that case,' and always refers to an *if* either expressed, as in the two instances above, or implied, as in **ἂν εὑρέθησαν** (l. 200,) 'must have been found [if any one wanted to find them].'

l. 198. **ὥστε παρεῖχον ἂν αὐτούς**, 'as that they should have put themselves in their power,' i.e. 'as to have put themselves in their power,' as they had done by going to the consul's house.

l. 199. **καὶ ταῦτα**, 'and [have done] that too:' **καὶ οὗτος**, Lat. 'isque' or 'is quidem,' are used just like Eng. 'and that too,' to heighten the effect of a previous statement.

l. 200. **οὗ**, Lat. 'ubi,' 'apud quem.' Distinguish from *οὐ*, 'not.'

l. 205. **ἀνεκάλεσαν**, 'called *up*,' 'summoned:' it is used both of citing before a court and of recalling generals from command.

ὑπῆγον θανάτου,—the full construction is *ὑπάγειν τινὰ* (sc. *ὑπὸ τὸ δικαστήριον*) *δίκῃ θανάτου*, 'impeach of a capital charge.'

l. 206. **ὑπακούω**, 'to listen:' esp. 'obey a summons,' 'put in an appearance.'

l. 207. **ἀπέφυγε**. The Greeks described an action at law in metaphors drawn from the *battle field:* so *διώκω*, 'to pursue,' means 'to prosecute,' (the Scottish term 'pursuer:') *αἱρέω*, 'to catch,' is 'to convict;' *φεύγω*, 'to flee,' is 'to be a defendant,' *ἀποφεύγω*, 'to get off,' or 'be acquitted,' thus acting as the passive of *ἀπολύω*, 'to release' or 'acquit.'

l. 210. **ὄνομα**,—the accusative is often used loosely to express 'as regards,' so here, 'by name.'

l. 212. **ὁ Ἀγησιλάου**, the ellipsis of *υἱός* is very common in Greek. Cp. iv. 308.

l. 217. **ἐὰν δεηθῇς**, observe that *δέομαι*, 'to want' or 'beg *from*,' is followed by a genitive of the person (Ἀρχιδάμου), and an infinitive of the petition made. The Greek infinitive is used in much the same way as the English, and much more widely than the Latin infinitive. The Greek subjunctive is generally only used, (1) as here, after conjunctions compounded with *ἄν*, and (2) in final sentences of present time after *ἵνα*, *ὅπως*, etc.

l. 220. **σωτῆρα**, this refers to *αὐτοῦ*, but the infinitive attracts it into the accusative.

l. 224. **κἂν βούλωμαι**, observe that *κἄν* must be for *καὶ ἐάν* and not for *καὶ ἄν*, as *ἄν* can never occur with a subjunctive unless it is annexed to a conjunction, cp. on *ἐὰν δεηθῇς* above.

διαπράξασθαι, 'manage for oneself,' esp. like Lat. 'impetrare,' 'to gain by asking.'

l. 228. **φιλίτιον**, the 'friendly' or 'common meal' at the public tables at Sparta (*συσσίτια*). This public meal of the Spartan citizens was instituted by Lycurgus, to train them for acting together in public service: only men dined at it: in fact it was like an officers' mess, only the fare was the reverse of luxurious. The word is also spelt *φειδίτιον* or *φιδίτιον*, originally perhaps comic forms of the name, as if it was 'spare-meal,' from *φείδομαι*.

l. 229. **τοῦ δ' ὄρθρου**, genitive of point of time, cp. *νυκτός*, l. 126.

ἐφύλαττε μὴ λάθοι,—*φυλάττω μή*, c. subj., 'to watch lest . . .,' Lat. 'cavebat ne:' the optative is here a past subjunctive marking a strong *final* sense *(cp. l. 217* n.): *φυλάττω μὴ ποιεῖν* would be simply to 'guard against doing.'

λανθάνω may often be rendered by 'unobserved,' or 'without his being aware of it:' cp. *ἐτύγχανον πολεμαρχοῦντες*, l. 18 n.

l. 231. **πρῶτον μέν...ἔπειτα δέ**, Archidamus seems to have dogged his father's steps for the day.

παρίει,—observe that the 2nd and 3rd sing. impf. are usually *παρ-ίεις*, *-ίει*, as if from contract present *παριέω*, *-ῶ*, and not *παρίης*, *-ίη*, from *παρίημι*.

l. 235. **ταὐτὰ ταῦτα**,—observe the difference: the one is *τὰ αὐτά*, from *ὁ αὐτός*, Lat. 'idem,' the other from *οὗτος*, Lat. 'hic:' the breathing on *ταὐτά* marks that there are two words, and that the second begins with a vowel.

l. 239. **μὴ διειλέγμενος** = *εἰ μὴ διείλεκτο*,—*μή* with a participle always implies an *if*, and is equivalent to *εἰ μή* with the finite verb, whereas **οὐχ** *ὁρῶντες* in the next line means '*because* they did not see him.' The middle *δια-λέγομαι*, 'to converse,' being practically a deponent, the perf. pass. is used as a perf. middle: cp. l. 33 n.

l. 241. **ἰόντα** here has the sense of '*coming* to him.'

l. 242. **τέλος**, adv. acc., 'at last.'

l. 244. **σῶσαί οἱ**,—observe that *οἱ* throws back its accent on the last syllable, or, in other words, is an enclitic: the dative of *οὗ*, Lat. 'sui,' is thus distinguished in form as well as in sense from the nom. plur. of the article.

l. 246. **ἀλλά**, 'nay but,' is often thus used in quick answers and objections, esp. when the answer 'no' is implied: 'Well, but though I can forgive, I do not see...' The Greeks rarely express the direct answer, whether 'yes' or 'no.'

l. 247. **ὅπως ἂν τύχοιμι**,—observe that the *ἄν* must belong to the verb here and not to the conjunction, as conjunctions compounded with *ἄν* require the conjunctive mood. Cp. l. 217 n.

μὴ καταγιγνώσκων, cp. l. 239 n.

l. 248. **ἄνδρα**, the genitive would be more usual after *κατα-γιγνώσκω*, but here *ἄνδρα ἀδικεῖν* is one idea, and the two words form a cognate accusative expressing the verdict which is pronounced, viz. 'that a man is guilty.'

ἐπὶ κακῷ,—**ἐπί** c. dat. 'on the terms of,' 'with the result of,' so here, 'to the injury of.'

l. 250. **τῷ δικαίῳ**, 'to the justice of the argument.'

l. 253. **ἀπέλυσας ἄν**, for *ἄν* cp. l. 198, and for *ἀπολύω*, l. 207.

l. 260. **μά** is used in oaths, and is followed by the accusative, like the Latin 'per;' in itself it is neither affirmative nor negative, but often takes a negative meaning from the context, so here, 'no, by Zeus.'

ἄρα, 'then,' 'accordingly,' i. e. 'if we do that.'

ταὐτὰ Ἀγησιλάῳ, see on l. 235, 'the same with [or as] Agesilaus:' cp. l. 63 n.

l. 262. **δι-είλεκται**, l. 239 n.

l. 264. **παῖς τε ὢν καὶ παίδισκος καὶ ἡβῶν**, 'both as a boy, and lad, and young man.'

παιδίσκος, here 'a youth,' half-way between *παῖς* and *ἀνήρ*.

l. 265. **δι-ετέλεσε ποιῶν**, 'went on doing *to the end*,' i. e. '*always* did:' cp. *ἐτύγχανον πολεμαρχοῦντες*, l. 18 n.

l. 268. **ἐπίστω**. The verb *ἐφ-ίσταμαι*, imperat. *ἐφ-ίστασο* or *ἐφ-ίστω*, subj. *ἐφιστῶμαι*, *κ.τ.λ.*, 'to stand over,' must not be confounded with *ἐπίσταμαι*, *ἐπίστασο* or *ἐπίστω*, *ἐπίστωμαι*, *κ.τ.λ.*, 'to know,' which is marked by the absence of the rough breathing.

l. 272. **Λεύκτροις**, cp. vi. 115.

4. THE FIRST CHECKS TO SPARTAN SUPREMACY, B.C. 378–5.

l. 277. **Βοιωτιάζω**, 'to favour the Boeotians:' so **Μηδίζω** is 'to favour the Medes' or 'support the king of Persia.'

l. 278. **τιμωρέω**, mid. iii. 70 n.

l. 289. **θάττονα τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ἐποιοῦντο**, 'began to hasten their retreat:' adjectives (1) are mere *epithets* of the substantive when they are between the article and its noun, but (2) when they are either *before* or *after* the article and its noun and *not between* the two, they form part of the *predicate*, as *θάττονα* does here.

l. 292. **ἐν τούτῳ**, sc. *χρόνῳ*, '*in* the mean time:' whereas **ἐκ τούτου**, ll. 280, 310, means '*after* this.'

l. 299. **ἐπὶ νάπῃ**,—*ἐπί* means 'upon,' and dative implies rest at: *ἐπί* c. dat. 'loci' must be translated *in* or *at*.

l. 300. **ἀναστρέφω** is 'to turn upside down,' hence 'to draw *back*;' here intrans. sc. *ἑαυτόν*, 'to turn back:' often it means 'to retreat,' but here they were retreating, and then turned back on their foes. Observe the imperfect of the uncompleted movement, '*were preparing* to turn back,' as contrasted with the aorist *ἠθροίσθησαν*, marking the completion of their forming into close order. The whole of this piece is full of imperfects, which must be carefully marked in translation. **διαβαῖεν**, *deliberative*, cp. iii. 92 n.

l. 306. **μέγα φρονοῦντες μὴ ὑπείξειν**, lit. 'having high thoughts that they would not,' i. e. 'haughty in their resolution not to.'

l. 309. **πρὶν ἐγένοντο**,—**πρίν** is used much like the English 'before' either, (1) with a gerundial infinitive, 'before being,' (2) with aor. indicative, as here, marking a *fact*, 'before they got within the wall,' as they eventually did, Lat. 'donec tandem' (here after a negative), (3) it is joined to **ἄν** only after *negatives*, and is followed by a subjunctive, referring to *future* time. Cp. l. 77 and *πρὶν αὐτὸν ὁρμηθῆναι*, iv. 327.

l. 313. **διαβιβάζειν**, 'to send across,' i. e. by sea: the Thebans had been regularly invaded by the Spartans every year, but now the Theban and Athenian force guarded the passes of Mount Cithaeron.

ll. 316, 318. **τὴν ἑαυτῶν χώραν...ἐπὶ σφᾶς**, observe that **ἑαυτῶν** is the *direct* reflexive referring to 'the Lacedaemonians,' the subject of *φυλάττειν*, on which *χώραν* directly depends, whereas **σφᾶς** is the *indirect* reflexive referring to 'the Thebans,' the subject of *ἐνόμισαν*, the main verb of the sentence, and not to *διαβιβάζειν*, on which *ἐπὶ σφᾶς* directly depends.

l. 320. **Σφοδρία**, the genitive of a Spartan (or Doric) name; the Attic would be *Σφοδρίου*.

l. 322. **ἐν ᾧ**, sc. *χρόνῳ*, 'while,' cp. ll. 71, 132 n.

l. 323. **θρασέως δή**,—**δή** emphasizes *θρασέως*, 'very boldly,' cp. *πολὺ δή*, l. 97 n.

l. 325. **Κερκύρα**, or Corcyra (supposed to be the same as the old Phaeacis), now Corfu, the chief of the Ionian Islands, off the coast of Epirus, lately given over to the Greek Government by the English.

ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ,—*ὑπό* with dat. 'under the thumb of,' cp. *ὑπὸ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις*, l. 26 n.

l. 333. **μετα-πέμπομαι**, 'I send after for myself;' hence, like Lat. 'arcesso,' 'to send for.'

SECTION VI.

1. THE BATTLE OF LEUCTRA,

B.C. 371.

l. 1. **περὶ ταῦτα,**—*περί* meaning 'round about,' and the acc. implying the object *to* which one turns, *περί* c. acc. is esp. used of 'being engaged in matters.'

l. 4. **Πλαταιέας,** Plataea was on the northern slope of Mount Cithaeron, and so, though in Boeotia, was close to the frontier of Attica: though but a small town, its Athenian sympathies gave it an eventful history. In quite early times Plataea deserted the Boeotian confederacy and joined Athens: 1000 Plataeans fought for Athens at Marathon in 490 B.C.: ten years afterwards Xerxes destroyed their city at the instigation of Thebes: after the Greek victory at Plataea the town was rebuilt, and prospered under the fifty years of Athenian supremacy, but in the Peloponnesian war the Spartans took it, after a siege of two years, and razed it to the ground: it was not rebuilt till after the peace of Antalcidas in 387 B.C., and is now again destroyed by the Thebans. **ἐκ-πίπτω,** pass. of **ἐκ-βάλλω,** cp. p. 159.

l. 7. **τὰ μέν... τὰ δέ,** 'in some respects... in others,' i.e. 'partly... partly:' so **οἱ μέν... οἱ δέ** is used for 'some... others.'

ἀσυμφόρως ἔχειν, 'to be inexpedient:' **ἔχω** with adverbs being intrans., cp. i. 44.

l. 8. **κοινωνεῖν ὧν ἔπραττον,** i.e. **κ. τῶν πραγμάτων ἃ ἔπραττον,** 'share their policy with them.' This is an instance of Attic attraction, by which the relative is attracted into the case of the antecedent (the same idiom is used with the English relative 'what,' as in 'take part in what they were doing'): the attraction only takes place where the relative would have been in the accusative.—The Athenians in their indignation at Sparta, on account of the treacherous attempt of Sphodrias, had before been making common cause with Thebes against Sparta, and had saved Thebes from an invasion by menacing the coast of Laconia with their navy, cp. v. 319.

γε μήν, 'yet certainly:' '[*though* they did not declare war against them] yet *co-operate* with them they certainly would not.'

l. 9. **Φωκέας φίλους ἀρχαίους τῇ πόλει**, the Phocians were included in the great Athenian confederacy after the defeat of the Thebans at Oenophyta, 456 B.C., about eighty years before this. Thebes was an inveterate enemy of Phocis; hence it was that twenty years after this the Thebans took the fatal step of calling in Philip of Macedon to crush the Phocians.

l. 10. **πιστὰς ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον πολέμῳ**, cp. l. 4 n.

l. 17. **ἐφ' ᾧ...ἐξάγειν,—ἐφ' ᾧ** is for **ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ ἐφ' ᾧ**, 'on these terms on which,' after which one would expect **ἐξάξοιεν**, 'they were to remove them,' but **ἐφ' ᾧ ἐξάγειν** is used as if it was **ἐπὶ τῷ ἐξάγειν**: **ἐφ' ᾧ** is in fact practically equivalent to **ὥστε**. l. 19. **ἐάν**, distinguish from **ἐάν**, iv. 113 n.

l. 21. **ἀπο-γράφω**, 'to write off,' or 'copy into a list,' hence mid. 'to register one's own name.'

l. 24. **μετα-γράφειν,—μετά** generally gives the idea of *change* to the verb with which it is compounded: the original meaning was 'with' or 'between:' hence came the notion of combination and interchange.

l. 28. **πεποιημένων,—ποιεῖν** would mean 'to cause' a peace, **ποιεῖσθαι** means 'to make peace for oneself;' hence the middle, having a special meaning of its own, is treated as a deponent, and the perf. pass. is used with a middle or deponent sense: cp. v. 33 n, so here it has **εἰρήνην** for its object.

l. 30. **δεκατευθῆναι**, 'should be tithed;' the Greeks often use the inf. aor. thus after verbs of hoping, where we should use the future, as if it were 'hoped for the Thebans being tithed.' This was in reference to the old oath made by the Greeks at the invasion of Xerxes, 480 B.C., that 'those who helped Persia should be tithed,' i. e. pay a tenth of their produce (or perhaps of their land) to the god at Delphi: cp. Hdt. vii. 132.

l. 31. **ἀθύμως ἔχοντες**, 'in a state of despair,' implying more continuance than **ἄθυμοι ὄντες** would, cp. i. 44 n.

l. 37. **τὸ ἐν Φωκεῦσι στράτευμα**, which had been defending Phocis against an invasion of the Thebans.

τὰ οἴκοι τέλη, 'the magistrates at home,' i. e. 'the Ephors;' **τέλη**, lit. 'ends,' hence 'a final authority,' and then used like our Foreign Office, War Office, etc., for the *members* of the government.

l. 40. **ἂν εἶναι,—ἄν**, 'in that case,' always refers to an 'if,' here the *if* is implied in **οὕτω**, '*if* this were done.'

l. 41. **ἥκιστ' ἂν ἄχθεσθαι**, 'would be least likely to be indignant.' If the Spartans broke the treaty they would incense not only the gods by whom they had sworn, but also the other cities, who, like Athens, had promptly obeyed the provisions of the treaty even to their own loss.

l. 42. **τὸ δαιμόνιον**, a misguiding 'inspiration' or 'infatuation;' it was really their intense hatred of Thebes.

l. 45. **ἀφ-ίοιεν**, the optative present of **ἵημι** is generally formed like that of a verb in **-ω**, hence we have **ἀφ-ίοιμι**, not **ἀφ-ιείην**.

l. 46. **οὐχ ὅπως**, 'not only not,' or 'so far from.' Compare **οὐχ ὅπως ἔφυγεν ἀλλ' ἐνίκησε**, 'not only did he not flee, but he conquered.' The full construction is **οὐ** [λέγω] **ὅπως ἔφυγεν**, κ.τ.λ., '[I do] not [say] that he fled, but he conquered:' so here, 'so far from giving up the cities, they refused even to disband:' or in full, **οὐ** [λέγω] **ὅπως** [**ἤσθετο**] **ἀφιέντας**: similarly in Lat. 'non modo' is said to be put for 'non modo non.'

l. 50. **οὐδένας ἀλλ' ἤ**, 'none besides' or 'except:' lit. 'none otherwise

than:' one would rather expect οὐδένας ἄλλους ἤ, but compare ἔπαισεν οὔτις ἀλλ' ἐγώ, 'no one else struck but I.'

l. 52. ἀφ-ήσεις, no verb has tense-forms differing so much from the present indicative as ἵημι; thus of ἀφίημι we have fut. ἀφήσω, 1 aor. ἀφῆκα, perf. ἀφεῖκα, perf. pass. ἀφεῖμαι, 1 aor. pass. ἀφείθην, 1 fut. ἀφεθήσομαι, with the still greater variety caused by the first aor. ἀφ-ῆκα being supplied by the 2nd aor., not only in the plural of the indicative ἀφεῖμεν, ἀφεῖτε, ἀφεῖσαν, but in the other moods ἄφες, ἀφῶ, ἀφείην, ἀφεῖναι, ἀφείς, mid. ἀφείμην, ἀφοῦ, ἀφῶμαι, ἀφείμην, ἀφέσθαι, ἀφέμενος. The forms of the compounds of ἵημι are so various and of such common occurrence, that beginners, perplexed by the variety of Greek forms, have been seriously advised 'to try ἵημι first, when in doubt' as to verbs beginning with a preposition; the forms should be thoroughly familiar to eye and ear alike. It is a great omission in Wordsworth's Grammar that the forms of ἵημι are not tabulated at length. Cp. l. 45 n.

l. 53. κινδυνεύσεις παθεῖν, 'will run a risk of suffering:' κινδυνεύω is often used where we should use an adverb, 'probably,' or 'possibly,' as in κινδυνεύεις ἀληθῆ λέγειν, 'you may *perhaps* be right:' cp. κινδυνεύσοι γενέσθαι, l. 62.

l. 54. κήδῃ, think what parts of verbs have ι subscript.

l. 55. τῆς πατρίδος ἐπι-θυμεῖς, 'have any desire or love for your country;' i. e. 'desire to see your country again,' wish 'not to be exiled.'

l. 56. τῷ ὄντι,—εἰμί being opp. to δοκεῖν, as 'being' to 'appearing,' Lat. 'esse' to 'videri:' τὸ ὄν is used for 'what really is,' 'the truth:' cp. iii. 312.

l. 61. πολιορκήσοιντο, Homer regularly uses the future middle for the future passive and the same usage is partly retained in Attic: (1) most frequently in verbs with a purely vowel or *contract* termination, so τιμήσομαι, ἀδικήσομαι, μαστιγώσομαι, etc.; (2) less frequently with verbs of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd, or mute conjugations (π, β, φ—κ, γ, χ—τ, δ, θ), as βλάψομαι, ἅρξομαι, ταράξομαι, and others: (3) very rarely with verbs of the 4th or liquid conjugation (λ, μ, ν, ρ). The middle form, being more closely related to the present, has properly more sense of *continuance* than the pass. form, which comes from the aorist, so here it is, 'shall undergo the *state* of being besieged,' whereas εἰ μέλλοι πολιορκηθήσεσθαι, Hell. 4. 8, 5, means simply, 'if a blockade is to be established there.'

l. 63. ἅτε, neut. plur. of ὅστε, an accusative used adverbially as a conjunction, (1) for 'just as,' (2) for 'seeing that,' 'inasmuch as,' with a participle: Lat. 'quippe:' cp. l. 91.

πεφευγότες πρόσθεν, 'having fled,' i.e. 'been exiled before:' φεύγω was the regular term for 'to be exiled.'

l. 72. οἱ νεῳ̑,—νεώς, another form of ναός, 'a temple,' is declined like λεώς, the peculiarity of the declension being that ω is retained throughout, ν or σ being added where they would otherwise have come, and ι being put subscript to represent the nom. plur. οι as well as the dative, so here we have νεῳ̑ for ναοί. Distinguish from νέοι 'youths,' and νῆες 'ships,' iv. 111 n.

ἀν-εῴγοντο, observe that ἀνοίγω or ἀνοίγνυμι, 'to open,' here takes a double augment. l. 73. φαίνοιεν, oblique of φαίνουσιν; 'did (not 'would') declare.'

l. 74. Ἡρακλεῖον, sc. ἱερόν, 'shrine of Hercules,' so Ἀμφεῖον, 'shrine of Amphion,' v. 164.

ὡς, with part., 'as if,' expressing the supposed reason or motive.

l. 75. οἱ μέν τινες, this pleonastic form is often used where there is no οἱ

δέ to answer to the οἱ μέν, so here, the μέν is taken up by δ' οὖν, but the οἱ μέν τινες is simply = τινὲς, and has nothing to answer to it, cp. iv. 93.

l. 85. οἱ οὐ βουλόμενοι μάχεσθαι, = οἱ οὐκ ἐβούλοντο, 'those particular persons who did not mean to fight,' whereas οἱ μὴ βουλόμενοι would = εἴ τινες μὴ ἔβουλοντο, 'any who did not wish:' cp. v. 239 n.

l. 91. ἅτε, cp. l. 63 n. πεδίου is marked as the predicate of τοῦ μεταξύ, 'the intervening [ground],' by the absence of the article, cp. iii. 207 n.

l. 94. ἦν μεμελετηκός, sc. τὸ ἱππομαχεῖν, 'had practised [fighting],' i.e. was well trained. l. 97. ἐπεὶ φανθείη, opt. gives sense of 'as often as.'

l. 98. φρουρὰν φαίνειν, lit. 'make a φρουρά appear,' 'call out a levy.' ἐπεὶ is followed by conditional optative φανθείη (cp. v. 181), used of indefinite *frequency*, 'as often as;' cp. ὁποῖα δοθείη, l. 99.

ἧκεν in *form* might be either 1 aor. of ἵημι, 'to send,' or imperf. of ἥκω, 'to come;' the sense decides.

l. 99. συν-τάσσω, 'to draw up along with others;' here, 'to call out as a conscript.'

λαβὼν ἂν... ἂν ἐστρατεύετο,—ἄν is here repeated because it affects λαβών as well as ἐστρατεύετο: ἄν marks that an *if* is implied ['if a levy was called out,'] 'in such a case (ἄν), he used to take whatever arms were given him, and then start on the expedition;' ἄν is often thus used with the impf. ind. to express something which was done as opportunity offered, of an action repeated in past time, as ἔλεγεν ἄν, 'he used to say so and so [if he spoke at all];' cp. our usage of 'would,' 'he would take up his gun in a morning, and go out by himself.'

l. 100. ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα, 'on the spur of the moment:' παραχρῆμα is an adverb formed from παρὰ τὸ χρῆμα, lit. 'close by the affair,' i.e. 'on the spot:' like other adverbs it can be used with the article and declined like a substantive.

l. 104. εἰς τρεῖς, 'up to three' in breadth, 'three abreast.' τήν, 'each.'

ἐνωμοτία (ἐν, ὄμνυμι), lit. 'a body of men who are sworn in,' then a 'company' of twenty-five men or upwards: in this case the company must have consisted of thirty-six men; we see in the next line that it gave a depth (βάθος) of twelve when marching three abreast in column.

l. 106. ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἀσπίδων, lit. 'upon-a-basis of fifty shields,' 'with a depth of fifty shielded men,' 'fifty deep.' It was not merely the depth of the column of attack, but the tactical arrangement, by which Epaminondas brought this column into action first, that decided the day, cp. Hist. Intr.

l. 111. ἥττηντο, plupf. must be distinguished from ἡττῶντο, imperf.

l. 112. λόχοι are bodies of infantry, not cavalry; 'besides [the cavalry] the battalions of Theban infantry were attacking them.'

l. 116. ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου, 'the crowd,' i.e. 'the massive phalanx.'

l. 120. ἔτυχεν οὖσα, 'happened on this occasion to be in front of their camp:' τυγχάνω marks that the Spartans had not dug the trench. Polybius (vi. 42) tells us that whereas the Romans always made their camps of a regular form, and dug trenches round them, the Greeks chose strong positions for their camps, which they shaped according to the lie of the ground, but rarely did much to add to the natural strength of a position.

ἐθέντο τὰ ὅπλα, the Greek shields being heavy, the soldiers always rested them on the ground when they halted; hence τίθεσθαι τὰ ὅπλα sometimes

means merely to 'halt in arms,' or 'take up a position,' sometimes to 'bivouac' for the night, esp. if in the face of an enemy. Cp. vi. 250.

κατὰ χώραν, 'on the spot.'

l. 121. **πάνυ** qualifies **ἐπιπέδῳ**, 'not *quite* level.'

l. 122. **πρὸς ὀρθίῳ**,—**πρός** (*προτί*) is a stronger form of **πρό**, 'before;' with the dative implying 'rest at,' it means 'hard' by; so here, 'on a slope:' cp. **τὰ πρὸς ποσί**, 'what is before or at one's feet:' with the genitive, **πρός** receives the meaning 'from,' when combined with the accusative, 'to.'

l. 124. **ἀφόρητον τὴν συμφοράν**, the adjective is a *predicate* when it is before or after and *not between* the article and its noun: cp. iii. 207 n.

l. 126. **ἀν-αιρεῖν**, 'to take up,' mid. 'to take up for one's own purposes,' esp. 'for burial.'

μὴ ὑποσπόνδους, to ask for a truce to recover the dead was an admission of a defeat, as it implied that the enemy were in possession of the battlefield.

l. 128. **τῶν συμπάντων Λακεδαιμονίων**, 'the whole body of Laconians, including the Perioeci,' cp. *ταῖς συμπάσαις ναυσί*, i. 90.

l. 129. **αὐτῶν Σπαρτιατῶν**,—**αὐτός** means 'self' not only in the nominative but also in the oblique cases, (1) when it comes first in the sentence, or (2) when, as here, it is used *with* a noun, and therefore cannot be a simple pronoun.

The Spartiatae, or real Spartans, were the ruling caste in Laconia, they were Dorian invaders, who kept the native population of Laconia and Messenia in perpetual subjection. The Spartiatae were very few in number, but made up for their fewness in numbers by their discipline. There are said to have been originally 10,000, but their numbers gradually dwindled, till in the time of Aristotle, about forty years later than this, there were only 1000. Aristotle (Pol. ii. 10) says, 'the state could not support one blow (this defeat at Leuctra), but was ruined for want of men'.

l. 137. **ὁ μὲν ἀγγελῶν**,—distinguish by their accents *ἀγγελῶν*, fut. part of *ἀγγέλλω*, with the circumflex marking a contraction, from *ἀγγέλων* gen. plur. of *ἄγγελος*.

138. **ἡ τελευταία**, sc. *ἡμέρα*, cp. i. 9.

Γυμνοπαιδιαί, a yearly festival in honour of those who fell in a battle at Thyrea: it was celebrated with gymnastic games and war-dances, which were considered an important part of a soldier's training.

l. 145. **ἦν ὁρᾶν = ἐξῆν ὁρᾶν**, 'it was [possible] to see,' 'one might see.'

ὧν μὲν ἐτέθνασαν = ἐκείνους μὲν ὧν ἐτέθνασαν.

l. 146. **οἱ προσ-ήκοντες**,—**προσ-ήκω** is 'to come near to,' hence part. 'near of kin.'

l. 146. **ἐν τῷ φανερῷ**, 'in public.'

l. 147. **ὧν δὲ ζῶντες ἠγγελμένοι ἦσαν**, sc. **οἱ προσήκοντες**: **ζῶντες**, 'as alive,' 'to be alive:' the participle is not so common after verbs of reporting as it is after verbs of judging, thinking, etc.: cp. **ἤδεσαν ζῶντας**, ii. 8 n.

l. 148. **ἂν εἶδες**, 'you *would have* seen [if you had been there]:' the past tenses of the indicative when combined with **ἄν** are thus used for a past conditional: the construction generally implies that the condition (e.g. your being there) was not fulfilled. Cp. v. 198.

l. 152. **τιμωρήσασθαι Λακεδαιμονίους πάντων,**—*τιμωρέω*, c. dat. 'to aid or avenge any one:' mid. 'to avenge oneself (acc.) for something (gen.),' hence 'to punish.'

l. 156. **ἐπὶ ξένια**, cp. i. 2.

l. 158. **μεχρὶ τῶν τετταράκοντα ἀφ' ἥβης**, lit. 'up to the forty [years] from coming of age,' i. e. all up to sixty, or, more exactly, to fifty-eight, the age of manhood at Sparta being eighteen.

The Spartan military system was in some respects like the Prussian: every Spartan citizen was liable to military service from twenty to sixty. Before each expedition proclamation was made what class according to age were to serve, *τὰ ἔτη εἰς ἃ δεῖ στρατεύεσθαι*: *τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἥβης* would include all from twenty to twenty-eight; the next class would be like the Prussian Landwehr; and the oldest like the Landsturm.

l. 159. **καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' ἀρχαῖς**, 'and also those who were in office.'

l. 161. **ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν**, *the* villages [to which they had been separated], cp. iv. 390.

l. 163. **ἀκολουθεῖν**, 'follow,' esp. 'serve in the army.'

l. 165. **πῇ ἀπο-βήσοιτο**, oblique of *ἀποβήσεται*, indirect question of past time; cp. v. 181 (3 γ.)

2. THE BATTLE OF MANTINEA,

B.C. 362.

l. 175. **ὑπ-ῆρχον**, 'were *already* there' before his arrival: *ὑπάρχω* is esp. used of things *already existing*.

l. 179. **πεφυλαγμένους**,—*φυλάττω*, act. 'to guard something,' mid. 'to be on one's guard,' a semi-deponent, hence with perf. pass. acting as perfect middle: cp. v. 33 n. For the participle expressing 'that they were,' after verbs of 'perceiving,' cp. ii. 8.

l. 180. **ἐξ-εστρατευμένον**,—an augment only remains in a participle when it is put for a reduplication, hence whenever there is an augment in any mood but the indicative it marks a perfect tense: *στρατεύω* is 'to march out,' mid. 'to take the field:' perf. pass. 'to be in the field.'

l. 181. **Πελλήνῃ**, a village in Laconia, on the Eurotas, N. of Sparta, and generally called Pellana to distinguish it from the more important Pellene in the western corner of Achaia.

l. 184. **προς-ιόν**, for the participle, cp. l. 147.

ἔλαβεν ἄν,—the English past conditional 'would have' is expressed in Greek by the past indicative, qualified by *ἄν*, 'in that case:' 'if the Cretan *had* not told it, he *would have* caught the city,' implying 'but the Cretan did tell it, and so he did *not* catch the city.'

l. 187. **ἔφθη ἀπ-ελθών**,—*φθάνω*, 'to anticipate,' is best rendered by an adverb, 'had got away to the city *first*,' cp. *ἔφθη ἐπιγενομένη*, v. 186, and i. 31 n.

δια-ταξάμενοι, observe the force of *διά*, 'in different directions,' like Lat. 'dis-:' so of men at their different posts, 'posted in battle-order.'

l. 188. **καὶ ὄντες**, like *καίπερ*, 'even though they were.'

l. 190. **οἱ τρεῖς**, the article is generally used in Greek of numbers, where they are parts of a specified whole: we say 'three battalions' generally, or 'three out of twelve,' but in the latter case the Greeks would have said '*the* three out of twelve.'

l. 192. **ἀπο-νενοημένοις**, from the deponent verb *ἀπονοέομαι*, cp. l. 179 n.

l. 195. **οἱ νενικηκότες**, cp. Hell. 6. 5. 23 *ἀγαλλόμενοι τῇ ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχῃ*, so *οἱ πῦρ πνέοντες*, 'fire' seeming *irresistible*, cp. ll. 20. 371.

τῷ παντί, 'in the whole matter,' 'in every way.'

l. 197. **τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον**,—the Greek idiom generally includes the person named.

l. 198. **ἀποθνήσκω**, here pass. of *ἀποκτείνω*, 'to be killed,' cp. i. 177.

l. 199. **πορρωτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ** = *προσωτέρω ἢ καιρὸς ἦν*, *καιρός* meaning the 'right point,' not of time only: Lat. 'justo longius.'

l. 201. **μέχρι ὅσου**, Lat. 'quatenus;' *μέχρι*, an adverb, 'to a given point,' is often used as a preposition for 'even to,' Lat. 'usque;' cp. *μέχρι οὗ*, i. 58.

l. 205. **ἐκείνοις μέν**,—*μέν*, unless in composition with other particles, must have a *δέ* to follow it; here the *δέ* is in *παλὶν δὲ πορευθείς*.

l. 207. **ἄλλως τε καί**, 'especially:' cp. iii. 149.

l. 211. **προς-καρτερέω**, 'to bear up under the fatigue of *another* forced march:' *πρός* implies an *additional* hardship.

l. 218. **δῆλοι ἦσαν προς-ελαύνοντες**, 'were seen coming up:' here we can nearly preserve the Greek idiom, but generally we must translate *δῆλός εἰμι* with part., as if it was *δῆλόν ἐστιν ὅτι...*: the Greeks prefer the *personal* construction, so *δίκαιός εἰμι* is used for 'it is right that I...:' cp. v. 71.

l. 220. **ἔξω γὰρ εἶναι**,—*λέγοντες* being understood in *ἐδέοντο*.

l. 223. **καὶ ὁρῶντες**,—*καί* has the force of *καίπερ*, 'even though they saw.'

l. 225. **τοῖς κρατίστοις ἱππεῦσι**. Thessaly consisted mainly of the basin of the Peneus, the one large plain in Greece; from the level nature of the country it afforded special facilities for the training of mounted troops: the Thessalian cavalry was generally considered to rank first in Greece, and were most successfully employed by Alexander in his expeditions. The Boeotian cavalry also ranked high, as their country was more level than any part of Greece south of Thessaly.

l. 226. **συρράσσω**, another form of *συρρήγνυμι*, is esp. used for 'to dash together,' 'engage at close quarters,' Lat. 'confligere.'

l. 227. **ἐρῶντες**, 'full of eagerness,' from *ἐράω* 'to love,' must be distinguished from *ἐροῦντες*, 'about to say,' and from *ἐρόμενοι*, 'having asked.'

l. 233. **ὡς... ἀποκάμνειν**,—*ὡς* is often thus used, like *ὥστε* c. inf., Lat. 'adeo ut:' *ἀποκάμνω*, 'to grow quite (*ἀπό*) weary,' is here used c. acc. for 'to flinch from toil,' Lat. 'detrectare laborem.'

l. 236. **τὸ τελευταῖον**, adv. accusative.

l. 237. **ὡς... ἐσομένης**, 'on the ground that there would be.'

l. 238. **ἐλευκοῦντο τὰ κράνη**, these helmets were probably not of metal

but of wood or wicker-work, as they are expressly said to be in Hell. 2. 4. 25, where they are also described as being whitened.

l. 239. **ἐπ-εγράφοντο ῥόπαλα**, 'were engraving clubs' as the crest on their shield. A club was the crest adopted by the Thebans in honour of Heracles, the son of the Theban Alcmene: a club with a shield was stamped on some of their coins. The Roman shields were similarly distinguished by the emblems engraved on them, and there is a gem with a figure of Victory inscribing on some hero's shield his name and exploits. The Arcadians, by adopting the Theban crest, identified themselves with the Thebans in much the same way as the Corinthians had once united themselves with the Argives.

[Mr. Grote adopts a reading which inserts *ἔχοντες* after *ῥόπαλα*, translating it, 'men armed with clubs,' and says, 'the Arcadian villagers, who *had nothing but clubs* in place of sword or spear, inscribed upon their shields the Theban ensign:' but the authority of the best manuscripts seems decisive against *ἔχοντες*, which may perhaps have been introduced by copyists, who did not understand that the 'clubs' in this case were 'crests.']

l. 240. **ἠκονῶντο**, from *ἀκονάω*, the imperfects depict the men *at work*.

l. 246. **τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέραν ὄρη**, see Plan at end.

The plain of Mantinea is a piece of high table land 2000 feet above the sea, so closely shut in by mountains that there is no escape for the water except through the mountains themselves. It is bounded by mount Maenalus on the west and by the ranges of Artemisium and Parthenion on the east. Its breadth varies from eight miles to one mile. Mantinea is about ten miles north of Tegea. About four miles south of Mantinea low ridges project from the ranges on each side, which narrow the valley and form a defensible pass; on this position the Lacedaemonian army was concentrated. This army consisted of troops from Sparta, Elis, Arcadia, Achaea, and Athens. Epaminondas, marching from Tegea on the south, arrayed his army in columns proper for advancing against the enemy; himself with the Theban columns forming the van. First he marched straight towards the enemy, then he turned to the left till he reached the western or Maenalian range, fronting towards Tegea, thus nearing the enemy's position on the right flank, on which he meditated his attack, at the same time that he seemed to have abandoned the idea of an immediate engagement. See Grote, lxxx.

l. 248. **μὴ ποιήσεσθαι**, 'that he would not offer battle;' infin. depending on **δόξαν**, 'an expectation:' the subject of the infinitive being omitted because it is the same as that of the main verb **παρεῖχε**.

l. 249. **πρὸς τῷ ὄρει**,—**πρός** is connected with **πρό**, 'before;' with the dative implying 'rest at,' it means 'near,' cp. i. 212.

l. 250. **ἐκ-τείνειν τὴν φάλαγγα** is 'to extend a line,' i. e. make its length greater, as opposed to *βαθύνειν*, 'to make its depth greater,' cp. Cyrop. 8. 5. 8. The expression is sometimes translated here, 'when he had formed his main army into a line of battle,' as if *ἐκτείνειν* meant 'to deploy into line,' but it seems rather to mean 'when what was a phalanx or compact body was extended into long thin columns:' 'forming line' before halting would have suggested to the enemy that an engagement was imminent, whereas the point of the manœuvre was to throw the enemy off his guard: after the manœuvre the two companies were still *ἐπὶ κέρως*, and did not 'form line' till later, cp. l. 254.

[*The meaning of* an expression must be fixed by comparing the passages

where it is used;—Anaxibius, when he was surprised on the flank by Iphicrates, saw that fighting was impossible, because his army was *ἐπὶ πολύ τε καὶ στενὸν ἐκ-τεταμένον*, i.e. 'in a long, narrow, straggling column' (Hell. 4. 8. 38). So *ἐκτεταμέναις ταῖς ἁμάξαις παριέναι* is used of 'passing a town with the baggage train *in a long line*,' *ἐκτεταμένοι* and *ἐπὶ μακρὸν πορευόμενοι* being used of the troops marching in thin weak columns (Cyrop. 5. 4. 20). So when Agesilaus was encamped with his rear in a narrow glen, and was in danger of an attack from the heights above it, he marched the rear columns up to the right of his line, thus doubling the depth of his line at the same time that he got them out of the narrow pass: then, when he was clear out on the plain, he *opened* the whole army *out* again into files of nine or ten in strength, *ἐξ-έτεινε τὸ στράτευμα πάλιν ἐπ' ἐννέα ἢ δέκα ἀσπίδων* (Hell. 6. 5. 19). The last is the only passage where the expression could mean 'forming line,' and there it does not mean 'forming line from column,' which would be *καταστῆσαι ἐκ κέρατος εἰς φάλαγγα* (Cyrop. 8. 5. 8), but 'extending a line already formed.

l. 250. **ἕθετο τὰ ὅπλα**, 'grounded arms' or 'halted,' cp. i. 212.

l. 254. **παρ-αγαγὼν τοὺς ἐπὶ κέρως πορευομένους λόχους εἰς μέτωπον**, 'having deployed the battalions which were marching in column into line.' The metaphor in *μέτωπον* ('a face') is taken from a stag or bull charging with its head to the foe, hence of a *line* of battle fronting the enemy: the *κέρατα* or 'horns' on each side of the animal's head were hence naturally used for the right and left *wings* of the army. *Ἐπὶ κέρως*[1] *πορεύεσθαι*, 'to march after one wing of the army,' is the regular expression for 'to march *in column*;' thus if the line at Leuctrâ, which was formed in companies of thirty-six men, in three files each of twelve deep, had moved off in column, the company on the extreme right would have marched straight to its front three abreast, and the rest would have filed off in the same manner, till the whole army was marching in a long column with three abreast. *παράγειν*, 'to lead a battalion *beside* another,' is the technical expression for 'deploying' or 'bringing columns up into a line' parallel with the present head of the column. Supposing the enemy is found posted in line *in front* of the leading files of the column, it is obvious that merely turning every man to his right would only give you a line three deep, and *in the wrong direction:* wheeling this long line up would be a perilous operation, and would still leave your line only three deep. But the operation would have been thus performed:—every company halts except the last, which inclines slightly to its right, and then marches *along* the right side of the company in front of it, till it gets its leading file of three 'in line' (*ἐν μετώπῳ*) with the leading file of the next company: these two companies then march up on the right of the next company, and so on, till all the rear companies are in a line with the front company: this front company, with the commander-in-chief at its head, would thus occupy the extremity of the left wing of the line now formed. Compare Cyrop. 2. 3. 9—4. 5, and Lac. Rep. 11, with Smith's Dict. of Antiquities, s.v. *Exercitus*.

l. 255. **ἰσχυρὸν ἐποιήσατο τὸ περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔμβολον**, 'strengthened his own phalanx of attack,' *ἔμβολον* meaning 'anything which is thrust in,' as 'a jutting headland,' or 'the beak of a ship.' The Theban phalanx was probably fifty deep, as at Leuctra. If Epaminondas had 30,000 troops with

[1] Or more commonly acc. *ἐπὶ κέρας*.

him, and there were 10,000 in the left wing, this left wing would thus have formed a front of 200 files, each file being fifty deep: while, if the rest of the army were formed eight deep, they would have formed an additional front of 2500. According to the usual Greek arrangement, if each company was fifty strong, the 200 captains of companies would have formed the front rank, and the rest of their companies would have been arranged in single file behind them. If the left wing was marched off first, the weaker part of the line would not come into action till the onset of the left wing had broken the enemy's line. Cp. Cyrop. 2. 4. 1, where there is a description of a line 100 deep similarly formed.

l. 256. **παρ-αγγείλας**, 'having *passed* the word' (along the line). Observe the force of the preposition *παρά*.

l. 257. **παρὰ δόξαν**,—*παρά* means 'beside,' hence, like our 'beside the mark,' 'beside oneself,' etc., with an idea of opposition, 'against their expectation:' hence the English 'para-dox.'

l. 258. **οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν** takes up *οἱ πολέμιοι* as if it were *οὐδεὶς τῶν πολεμίων*.

l. 259. **ἔθεον ... ἐν-εδύοντο**, observe the imperfects.

l. 261. **πεισομένοις**,—*πάσχω* is often thus used as pass. of *ποιέω*: *ποιεῖν τι κακόν τινα* being 'to do harm to any one,' *πάσχειν*, 'to have it done to oneself.'

l. 262. **ἀντίπρῳρον**, 'like a trireme with beak first,' i. e. 'as a ship turns its prow towards the enemy and charges end on:' the left wing being like the beak which strikes while the rest of the ship is, so to speak, out of action. [The same expression is used Rep. Lac. 11. 10, 'if an enemy appears on the right when they are marching in column, the Spartans merely wheel each battalion towards the foe like a trireme charging with its beak, and thus the rear battalion comes at the right of the line,' where the words are *τὸν λόχον ἕκαστον ὥσπερ τριήρη ἀντίπρῳρον τοῖς ἐναντίοις στρέφουσι*, the same idea being conveyed as here, viz. that the depth of each battalion is much greater than its breadth, as a column leading up thus by separate battalions with intervals between them would give just the appearance of a line of ships charging.]

l. 263. **δια-κόψει**, the word is specially appropriate, as the column of attack is represented as the *ἔμβολον* or *beak* of a ship.

l. 265. **τὸ ἀσθενέστατον**, i. e. the right wing, on which the Argives were posted: see Plan at end.

ἀπ-έστησεν, the pres. with imperf. and the future with 1 aor. of *ἵστημι* are transitive: the 2 aor. and perfect with plupf. being intransitive.

l. 266. **ἡττηθέν = εἰ ἡττηθείη**, the *ἄν* ('in that case') which follows implying an *if* preceding.

l. 267. **καὶ μήν**, 'and further,' 'and besides;' it is esp. used in Att. poets to introduce a *new* person on the stage; so in Prose, to introduce a *new* subject, as the cavalry here.

l. 268. **βάθος**, adv. acc. 'in depth.'

ὥσπερ φάλαγγα, 'just as a line,' i. e. about four, six, or eight deep, (cp. *ὥσπερ φάλαγξ ἐπὶ τεσσάρων*, Hell. 3. 4. 13). It is important here to notice that *φάλαγξ* by no means necessarily means a phalanx or compact mass, the *meaning being* apparently, first 'a pole' or 'trunk' of a tree, then 'a rank'

or 'line' of men, then sing. used for the plur. of several ranks of men forming a 'line of battle:' ἐπὶ φάλαγγος being the technical term for 'in line,' as opp. to ἐπὶ κέρως, 'in column.' Our use of the term comes from the Macedonian 'line of battle,' which was a compact mass. Here the point of the statement is, that the Spartan cavalry were not massed into what we should call a phalanx, but fought in line.

l. 269. ἐφεξῆς, 'in a row,' 'one close to the other,' i.e. without intervals between their ranks to admit light infantry being intermingled with them.

ἔρημον agrees with φάλαγγα.

l. 271. τὸ ἱππικόν, i.e. τῶν πολεμίων, the acc. case after διακόψειεν, Epaminondas being the subject to the whole sentence.

l. 273. εὑρεῖν, inf. after ἐνόμιζεν, understood from νομίζων.

l. 274. τῶν ἑαυτῶν [στρατιωτῶν], 'of the troops on their own side.'

l. 275. ἐπι-βοηθῶσι, the subjunctive being dramatically used for the optative ἐπιβοηθοῖεν, as if κατέστησεν was a present tense. Cp. iv. 159 n.

l. 276. ἐπὶ τὸ ἐχόμενον, 'to the troops which were next to them,' i.e. to the centre or right. These reserves, which were posted on the heights on the right of the Theban line, would have taken the Athenians in the rear if they had wheeled round to attack Epaminondas on the flank.

l. 277. φόβον...ὡς, verbs of fearing are followed, (1) generally by μή, but they are also followed by (2) ὅπως, 'how,' with subj., (3) by the simple infinitive, and (4) as here, by ὅτι or ὡς, 'that,' which is the same as the infinitive, and is only used because a fresh subject, οὗτοι, is introduced: cp. Demosth. p. 141 τὸν φόβον ὡς οὐ στήσεται τοῦτο ἄνευ μεγάλου τινὸς κακοῦ. For φόβον παρέχειν, cp. δόξαν παρεῖχε μή, l. 248.

l. 280. μὲν δή, 'so then;' these particles are often thus used in closing a statement, cp. v. 99, and τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ ταῦτα, an expression often used in passing to a new subject.

l. 281. τῆς ἐλπίδος,—ψεύδομαι, 'to be cheated *of*,' is followed by a genitive, like its converse τυγχάνω, 'to hit upon,' 'succeed in getting;' so ἁμαρτάνω τινός, 'to miss something,' or 'fail.' The fundamental idea of the genitive appears to be close connection, 'a part of,' or 'inside,' hence with verbs of an active possessive sense, 'to get at,' 'to get hold of:' so with verbs of touching, etc.

ᾗ, Lat. 'qua,' 'where,' must be clearly distinguished from ἤ 'or,' ἡ fem. article, ἥ nom. fem. of ὅς, and ᾖ 3 sing. subj. of εἰμί.

l. 288. ἡττώμενος, contrast the imperfect, 'in the act of being beaten,' with the perfect ἡττημένοι, l. 300.

l. 289. δια-πίπτω, like our expression 'to fall through,' is used esp. in the sense of *failure*, to 'slip away,' 'escape,' so here, '*fell back through*' the receding enemies with the timidity of beaten men' (Grote): so of those who wished to effect their *retreat*, iv. 98.

καὶ μήν, cp. l. 267 n.

l. 291. ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου, 'came upon [the left of the enemy's army];' in ii. 37 we have ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα, so ἐπὶ Γεραιστόν, Hell. 3. 4. 1; but with verbs of 'reaching,' if no stress is laid on the *motion* 'to,' the genitive is naturally used: cp. l. 281 n. and i. 79.

l. 292. ἀπέθανον ὑπό, the preposition which marks the *agent* is used, because ἀποθνήσκω is used as the passive of ἀποκτείνω.

l. 293. **ἐναντίον οὗ = ἐναντίον τούτου ὅ,—ἐναντίος**, c. dat. of opposition implying hostility, c. gen. implying rather 'contradiction,' 'difference,' as here. Distinguish **οὗ** from **οὐ** 'not.'

l. 298. **νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπ-έδοσαν**, generally the regular acknowledgment of defeat, implying that the enemy were in possession of the field.

l. 300. **νενικηκέναι φάσκοντες**, Lat. 'se victoriam reportasse prae se ferentes.' Cp. *φάσκων σωθῆναι*, i. 155 n.

DATES OF GREEK HISTORY.

All the important part of Greek history comes within the fifth and fourth centuries before Christ; in fact in the 150 years between the defeat of the Persians at Salamis, 480, and the victories of Alexander the Great in 330.

FIFTH CENTURY.

500—480. First Period of Twenty Years. Persian War. Ionian Revolt. The Greek cities in Asia Minor revolt from Persia and are helped by Athens. The revolt is crushed at the Battle of **Lade**, near Miletus.

490. Marathon. Darius sends Datis and Artaphernes to take vengeance on Athens. They land on the coast of Attica at Marathon, but are defeated by Miltiades.

'The mountains look on Marathon—
And Marathon looks on the sea;
And musing there an hour alone,
I dreamed that Greece might still be free;
For standing on the Persians' grave,
I could not deem myself a slave.'

480. Salamis. Xerxes annihilates Leonidas and the 300 Spartans at the Pass of **Thermopylae**, which is just to the south of Thessaly; he then destroys Athens, but sees his fleet defeated through the tactics of Themistocles, who forced it to an engagement in the narrow channel between the island of **Salamis** and the shore of Attica, where the advantage of superior numbers was neutralised by the want of room to manœuvre.

'A king sate on the rocky brow
Which looks o'er sea-born Salamis;
And ships, by thousands, lay below,
And men in nations;—all were his!
He counted them at break of day—
And when the sun set where were they?'

Xerxes retreats, leaving his dispirited army under the command of Mardonius, who is defeated by Pausanias in the next year at **Plataea**.

FIFTH CENTURY (*continued*).

480—430. **Second Period of Fifty Years. Supremacy of Athens.** After the victories of the Persian War, Themistocles and Aristides established a great league as a permanent defence for the Ionian Greeks (of Asia Minor and the Aegean) against the power of Persia. This league was called the **Confederacy of Delos**, because the island of Delos was the central sanctuary of the Ionian race, and Athens was the chief of the Ionian cities, as Sparta was of the Dorian.

430—400. **Third Period of Thirty Years. Peloponnesian War.** In this war, which lasts thrice nine years, 431—404, Sparta, supported by the Dorian and oligarchical States, disputes the supremacy of Athens, the recognised head of the Ionian and democratical States. Athens is weakened by the destruction of her forces in an expedition to Sicily, and after the annihilation of her fleet at **Aegospotami** (B.C. 405), surrenders to Sparta (B.C. 404).

404—403. This surrender was followed by the **Athenian Revolution**, in which an oligarchy of Thirty Tyrants was established by Sparta and then overthrown by Thrasybulus.

401. **Retreat of the Ten Thousand.** Cyrus hires some of the Spartan and other Greek troops which were disbanded after the surrender of Athens, and makes an expedition against his brother Artaxerxes Mnemon, but is killed at the battle of Cunaxa, 401.

FOURTH CENTURY.

400—370. First Period of Thirty Years. Supremacy of Sparta. Beginning with her victory over Athens at Aegospotami, 405, ending with her defeat by Thebes at Leuctra, 371.

390. Sparta is menaced by a coalition of Thebes and Athens. The coalition have been checked at Coronea, 394, and are checkmated by the peace of Antalcidas, 387.

380. Sparta has seized Thebes, 383. Thebes freed again by Pelopidas, 379.

371. Epaminondas wins the battle of **Leuctra** by concentrating his forces against a single part of the enemy's line.

370—360. Second Period of Ten Years. Supremacy of Thebes. Beginning with Leuctra, 371, and ending with the Battle of **Mantinea**, 362, in which Epaminondas employed the same tactics as at Leuctra; but when he was killed the Theban victory was rendered useless by the loss of the only man who would have known how to use it.

360—300. Third Period of Sixty Years. Supremacy of Macedon. The accession of **Philip** was in 359. The death of Epaminondas and the indecisive result of Mantinea left Greece without a head, and paved the way for its subjection to Macedon.

350. Philip is attacked by the speeches of **Demosthenes**, who tries to rouse Athens to resist him, but in vain.

340. The independence of Greece is finally extinguished by Philip and his son Alexander on the plains of Boeotia, 338, through

> 'That dishonest victory,
> At **Chaeronea**, fatal to liberty.'

330. Alexander invades Persia and successively defeats Darius Codomannus at the Granicus, at **Issus 333**, and at **Arbela** 331.

> 'He sung Darius great and good,
> By too severe a fate
> Fallen, fallen, fallen, fallen,
> Fallen from his high estate,
> And weltering in his blood.'

Alexander dies, 323, ten years after the Battle of Issus.

320—300. The remainder of the century is occupied by the quarrels of the generals of Alexander about the partition of his empire.

*** The date of Alexander's victory at Issus, 333 B.C., is easy to remember as being composed of three threes.

I. 1. The Macedonian supremacy had then lasted thirty years; adding this gives the date of its origin in the indecisive result of Mantinea, 362 B.C.

2. The Theban supremacy lasted ten years; adding this gives the date of its origin in the defeat of Sparta at Leuctra, 371 B.C.

3. The Spartan supremacy lasted thirty years; adding this gives the date of its commencement in the taking of Athens, 404 B.C.

4. The Peloponnesian War lasted thirty years, or more exactly thrice nine years, 404 + 27 = 431 B.C.

5. The Athenian supremacy lasted fifty years; adding this gives the date of its origin in the battle of Salamis, 480 B.C.

II. Thus the Peloponnesian War (431) began 100 years before Issus (333).

The Battle of Salamis (480) was fifty years before the Peloponnesian War.

The important period of Greek history was between these 150 years.

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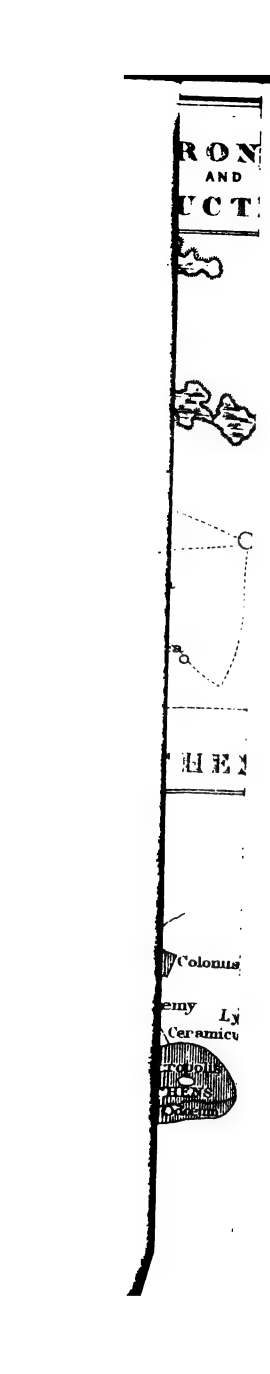
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